CE $1.50

m. F. Buckley Jr. on
ORMAN LEAR'S
FRENZY —See page 62

SEPTEMBER 6, 1985

NATIONAL REVIEW

Form **1040** Department of the Treasury—Internal Revenue Service
U.S. Individual Income Tax Return **1984** (3)

For the year January 1-December 31, 1984, or other tax year beginning , 1984, ending

Use IRS

Your first name and initial (if joint return, also give spouse's name and initial) Last name

Present home address (Number and street, including apartment number, or rural route)

City, town or post office, State, and ZIP code

Your
Spou

MGUT02703 01285I7 P 026 I
MR E ROY SMITH
20 BELLE AIR RD
COLORADO SPGS CO 80906

s the tax revolt dead?

by James R. Adams

Yes
No
(check one)

Status
only
x.

For Privacy

1 Single
2 Married filing joint return (even if only one had income)
3 Married filing separate return. Enter spouse's social security no. above
4 Head of household (with qualifying person). (See page 5 of Instru
but not your dependent, write child's name here.
5 Qualifying widow(er) with dependent child (Year spouse died ▶

Exemptions
Always check the box labeled Yourself.

6a Yourself 65 or over
b Spouse 65 or over
c First names of your dependent children who lived with you

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

Abortion: *A civilized exchange between Ernest van den Haag and John T. Noonan Jr.*

7 Wages, salaries, tips, etc.
8 Interest income *(also attach Schedule B if over $400)*
9a Dividends *(also attach Schedule B if over $400)* , 9b Ex

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Don't miss
"Quest for the Killers"
a PBS special series starting Monday, September 9.
See local listings for further information

Silent partners in world health

Recent triumphs in the field of tropical medicine will soon be celebrated in "Quest for the Killers," a documentary series to be aired nationally on PBS. One program will describe the fight against a worm infestation called schistosomiasis on the island of St. Lucia in the Caribbean.

Schistosomiasis affects as many as 200 million people in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Puerto Rico and Latin America. It is often called "snail fever" because at one stage of their life cycle, *Schistosoma* worms infect snails that live on the bottom of rivers and streams. These parasites invade the skin of humans who drink, wash or swim in contaminated waters. They can cause severe itching, fever, diarrhea, and eventually irreversible damage to the liver. For 16 years, researchers visiting St. Lucia have been testing the practicality of various methods of control. Three approaches have proven to be most effective.

First, a public health team sprayed the rivers and streams of St. Lucia to get rid of infested snails. New plumbing facilities were constructed to assure a supply of uncontaminated water. Finally, treatment of people carrying the parasite was greatly facilitated by a drug developed and supplied by Pfizer. While previous treatments had to be given by injection, this drug was given orally only once, making it much simpler to reach a large number of people. The total control and elimination of the parasite is not yet a reality, but this combined medical and environmental program has done much to make life better for the people of the island.

Developing a drug such as this is a significant task that takes a decade or more and tens of millions of dollars. It generally involves the synthesis of hundreds of compounds in the organic chemistry laboratory. These compounds are then screened for antiparasitic activity. If one or more of them shows promise, the next step is to do toxicity studies and learn all about how the potential new drugs behave in laboratory animals. Only after completion of extensive, time-consuming animal studies can the drug be tested for safety and effectiveness in humans. And clinical trials in human patients can last for several years. If the clinical trials indicate that the drug should be made available, new technology must be developed to produce it on a mass basis, and in cases like this, with little if any profitability for the developer.

Drug research and development isn't always "good theater." And it's largely a team endeavor generally without charismatic heroes. The days of Paul Ehrlich and his "magic bullet" are long past. The work of the pharmaceutical industry isn't usually the stuff of TV documentaries. But the drugs depicted in the various episodes came from the laboratories of pharmaceutical companies all over the world. The pharmaceutical industry has been the silent partner of government agencies, physicians, nurses and their associates who achieved public health miracles in St. Lucia and other developing countries.

In the Third World, pharmaceuticals are perhaps even more important than in advanced industrial countries. Often they are the only form of advanced medical technology which is practicable. Other forms of care, such as surgery, are often too cumbersome and too demanding of scarce resources. Drugs, by comparison, are portable, relatively inexpensive and comparatively simple to use.

The vast majority of drugs for the Third World and also for developed countries originate in the pharmaceutical industry. The government agencies do not have the broad expertise or resources for drug development, and medical schools and universities have different missions. Only the major research/pharmaceutical companies have the necessary skills and resources. Most manufacturers of generic drugs lack the research capabilities to create new drugs and test them for safety and efficacy. And that's only one reason an economically viable research-based pharmaceutical industry is important to all of us.

Pfizer is pleased to have been a partner in helping to reduce the hazards of one of the world's more widespread health problems. Pfizer is also pleased to have had an opportunity to help make it possible to tell this story. Therefore, we hope you will find time to watch "Quest for the Killers."

Pfizer PHARMACEUTICALS • A PARTNER IN HEALTHCARE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SEPTEMBER 6, 1985
VOL. XXXVII, NO. 17

NATIONAL REVIEW

ADAMS 28

VAN DEN HAAG 37

NOONAN 39

PERLMUTTER 42

THE COVER

28 Is the Tax Revolt Dead?
Last time out most voters said no to tax-cutting referenda. But sure as Andy Jackson won the Battle of New Orleans, we're in for a generation-long rebellion.
James Ring Adams

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

24 Remember Howard?
Probably not, but he's running for President anyway. *John McLaughlin*

26 The Forest and the Trees
How the West is blowing opportunities in southern Africa. *Brian Crozier*

37 Abortion: A Civilized Exchange
Two eminent scholars politely disagree on the central issue in the abortion debate.
Ernest van den Haag
John T. Noonan Jr.

42 Sister Mary Ignatius, Vanessa Redgrave, & Roger Baldwin
The head of the Anti-Defamation League spells out the rules as he sees them.
Nathan Perlmutter

48 Red, Dead, or Neither
Albert Wohlstetter's "Between an Unfree World and None" speaks truth to power.
Michael A. Scully

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

49 **Arnold Beichman** has found a tale to top anything by Fleming or Le Carré—and it's true. . . . **Jeffrey Hart** says the Lindbergh case was mythic, and Hauptmann's guilt a myth. . . . **Joseph Sobran** finds Sir Herbert Butterfield too conservative for our radical age. . . . **M. D. Aeschliman** says *As I Was Saying: A Chesterton Reader* is the perfect introduction. . . . **Jeffrey Meyers** liked Mary McCarthy better when she bit. . . . **John Simon** refuses the *Kiss of the Spider Woman*. . . . "Waiter, there's a fly in my boil-in bag": **Nika Hazelton** on ominous trends in the restaurant biz. . . . After an evening of sumo with theologica, **D. Keith Mano** is surprised they ever got around to bombing Pearl Harbor.

4 LETTERS
11 FOR THE RECORD
12 THE WEEK
40 hel!!
45 ABROAD
58 THE RIGHT BOOKS
62 ON THE RIGHT
66 TRANS-O-GRAM

Cover design by Colleen Lawlor

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1985. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: $34.00 a year (25 issues). Add $11.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*
William A. Rusher *Publisher*
James P. McFadden
Consultant to the Editor

Editors
Richard Brookhiser / James Burnham
Jeffrey Hart / Joseph Sobran
Priscilla L. Buckley *Managing Editor*

Executive Editors
Linda Bridges *Assistant Managing Editor*
Richard Vigilante *(Articles)*
John McLaughlin *(Washington)*
Chilton Williamson Jr.
(Books, Arts & Manners)

Associate Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
Werner J. Dannhauser / W. H. von Dreele
Nika Hazelton / D. Keith Mano
Michael Novak / Walter Olson
William F. Rickenbacker / John Simon
Ernest van den Haag / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associates
David Brooks / Catherine M. Shea
Jane Buckley Smith / Lacey Washington
Ione Whitlock

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Colleen Lawlor *Art Director*
Anna Lieber *Production Editor*
Dorothy B. Humanitzki *Copy Editor*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Circulation Manager
Sylvia Wolinsky

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / Ruth Berenson
David Brudnoy / John Chamberlain
Mona Charen / John R. Coyne Jr.
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Mary Gauerke / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Donald Hall
Malcolm Hancock / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Nicholas King
Jan Lukas / Kevin Lynch
Forrest McDonald / Charles Burton Marshall
Thomas Molnar / Gerhart Niemeyer
Grover Rees III / Joseph A. Rehyansky
Alan Reynolds / Selden Rodman
Francis Russell / Morrie Ryskind
Michael A. Scully / Terry Teachout
Ralph de Toledano / S. L. Varnado
Charles Wallen Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Nena Ossa *Santiago*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*

LETTERS

More of the Same

Dorothy White ["Last Waltz in Zimbabwe," Aug. 23] is too kind to Robert Mugabe. She establishes Rhodesia's descent into chaos: socialism, tribal violence, and Mugabe's design for a one-party state. She also describes Mugabe's irritation at the last election and his plans to lash out at the "racialist white electorate" for supporting Ian Smith. But then she expresses "hope."

Pointing to Mugabe's statements prior to the election that indicated at least a rhetorical softening, Miss White suggests that plans for the state-run economy, increased attacks on the opposition, and retaliation against the white minority might be reversed. In fact, the conciliatory tones before the election had their intended effect: to convince Western opinion that Mugabe's overwhelming electoral triumph was an endorsement of whatever he might do to achieve his goals. Among the first acts of the new parliament was to renew the state of emergency that had been in effect since independence (something that South Africa's critics don't seem to have noticed). In the years since independence more people have been killed in Zimbabwe than in South Africa. The "next five years," to which Miss White refers, only promise more of the same.

Edith S. Dudley
Durham, N.C.

Within the Limits

In his excellent article, "Arms Control: Three Centuries of Failure" [Aug. 9], William R. Hawkins errs in asserting, concerning the conclusion of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement in London, that "the German Navy soon exceeded the limits established."

The *New York Times* of June 19, 1935, reported that under the terms of the pact, Germany could construct 183,750 tons of battleships—the equivalent of 18 pocket battleships, or seven ships of France's *Dunkerque* class, or five of Britain's *Nelson*-class capital ships. The Reich could construct 135,000 tons of aircraft carriers to Britain's 421,000 tons; 51,380 tons of heavy cruisers to Britain's 164,000 tons; 67,270 tons of light cruisers to Britain's 192,000 tons; 52,500 tons of destroyers to Britain's 150,000 tons; and 18,445 tons of submarines to Britain's 57,000 tons.

Although Germany proceeded with the construction of two *Scharnhorst*-class battleships, displacing approximately 26,000 tons each, and much later built two *Bismarck*-class battleships, displacing about 41,000 tons each, in no way could it be said that "the German Navy soon exceeded the limits established." The Anglo-German Naval Agreement was viewed as the first step in a hoped-for Anglo-German "non-aggression" or possible mutual-assistance pact, which Joachim von Ribbentrop as ambassador was instructed to work toward establishing. It was only after Chamberlain's March 1939 unilateral "guarantee" of Poland's western (not eastern) borders that the Anglo-German Naval Agreement was repudiated by Hitler and the "Z Plan" for naval rearmament decided upon. Had Hitler built up to the limits of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement after 1935, Britain's position would have been far more precarious in 1940-41 than proved the case.

Donald F. Barry
Middle Village, N.Y.

If Words Were Bombs

In closing his piece "In Reagan's Defense" [Aug. 9], Mr. Rusher urges us to wait to see what President Reagan does in retaliation against terrorism before we harshly judge his leadership. My two sons are also waiting, waiting to see what he does about the slaughter of their fellow Marines by terrorists.

I for one believe they and we will continue to "wait." President Reagan has shown great courage against personal adversity but his courage in dealing with our enemies, except for that brief moment in Grenada, has been outrageously lacking.

If words were bombs, he would have obliterated terrorism. However, his words are words, which are easily spoken, and Mr. Rusher's call for patience toward our "friend" in the White House is words that are slowly losing their force.

Kenneth E. Wyman
Huntsville, Ala.

Reining In the Court

John T. Noonan Jr. ["Calling for a Constitutional Convention," July 26] makes an excellent case in favor of the states' calling a convention for the purpose of drafting a balanced-budget amendment. However, he does not follow to its ul-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If it's not here, it ain't English.

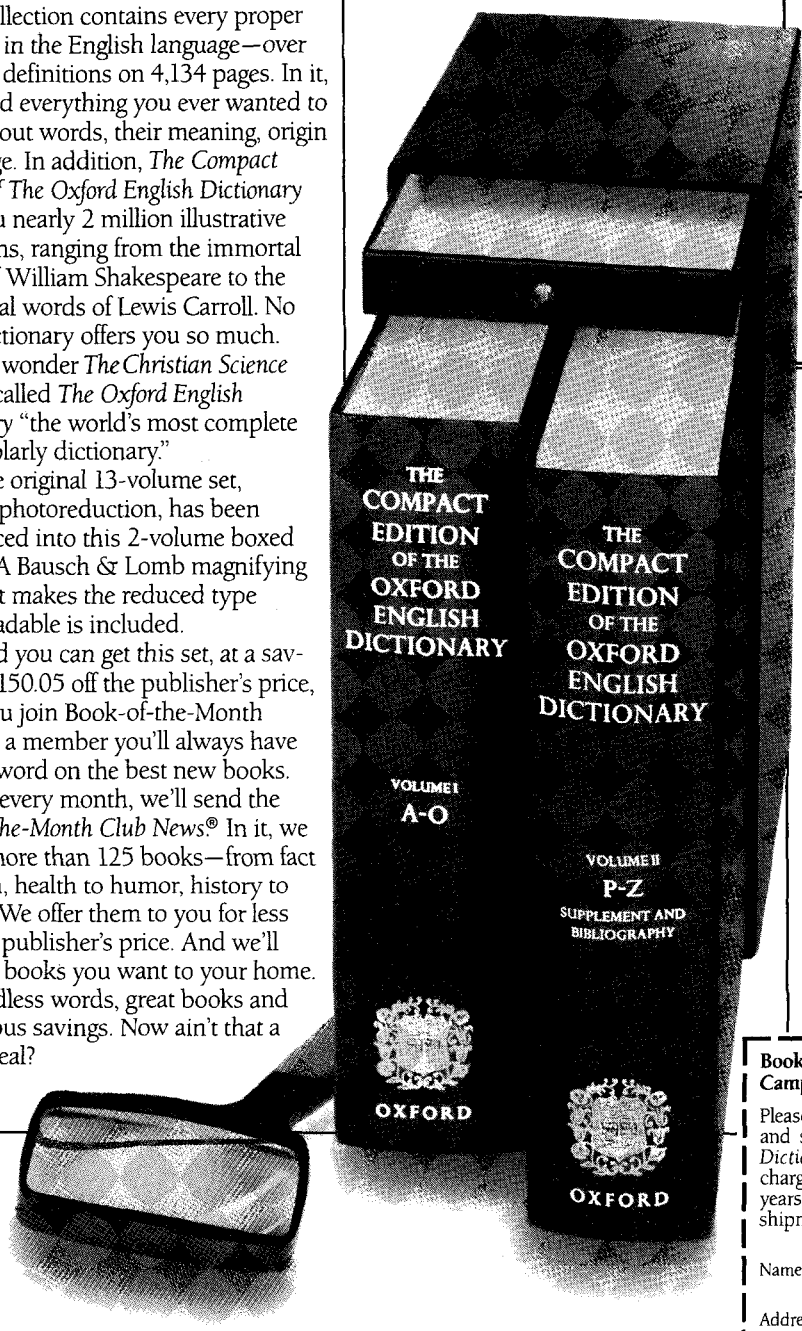
This collection contains every proper word in the English language—over 500,000 definitions on 4,134 pages. In it, you'll find everything you ever wanted to know about words, their meaning, origin and usage. In addition, *The Compact Edition of The Oxford English Dictionary* gives you nearly 2 million illustrative quotations, ranging from the immortal words of William Shakespeare to the whimsical words of Lewis Carroll. No other dictionary offers you so much.

No wonder *The Christian Science Monitor* called *The Oxford English Dictionary* "the world's most complete and scholarly dictionary."

The original 13-volume set, through photoreduction, has been reproduced into this 2-volume boxed edition. A Bausch & Lomb magnifying glass that makes the reduced type easily readable is included.

And you can get this set, at a savings of $150.05 off the publisher's price, when you join Book-of-the-Month Club. As a member you'll always have the first word on the best new books. Because every month, we'll send the *Book-of-the-Month Club News*® In it, we review more than 125 books—from fact to fiction, health to humor, history to science. We offer them to you for less than the publisher's price. And we'll send the books you want to your home.

Endless words, great books and continuous savings. Now ain't that a terrific deal?



- Boxed set of two volumes, 9¾" by 13½" each.
- Paper is 30 pound Special Dictionary White.
- Bound in buckram and gold-stamped.

Yours for only $24.95 when you agree to join. (Publisher's price $175)

WHAT IT MEANS TO JOIN US.

1. Here's the deal: We offer you this set for $24.95. You become a member and agree to buy 4 more books within the next two years.
2. What you get: We offer good books in well-made, durably bound editions. We price below publisher, and the books are delivered to your door. You pay only for the books you want, plus a charge for shipping and handling.
3. Keeping in touch: We'll send you the *Book-of-the-Month Club News*® 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks). In it, we review our Selection and more than 125 other good books.
4. Freedom of choice: If you want the Selection—do nothing. We'll send it to you. If you want another book, or if you don't want anything—send us the Reply Form by the given date.
5. Never fear: If the *News* is delayed and you receive the Selection without having 10 days to notify us, just return it for credit. At *our* expense.
6. Breaking up is easy: After you've bought the 4 additional books you can end your membership at any time. We'll be hurt, but we'll understand.
7. Staying is better: Stay with us and you'll get lots of benefits like our Book-Dividend® plan that offers you a variety of fine books at savings of 50% or more.
8. You mean a lot to us: If at any time we can do anything to make you happier, please let us know.

Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc. A123-9-1
Camp Hill, Pennsylvania 17012

Please enroll me as a member of Book-of-the-Month Club and send me *The Compact Edition of The Oxford English Dictionary*. Bill me $24.95, plus shipping and handling charges. I agree to buy four more books during the next two years. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

5-41

Name _____
(Please print plainly)

Address _____ Apt _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Price shown is U.S. price. Outside the U.S., price is generally higher.

Book-of-the-Month Club®

From one book lover to another.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Speak German like a Diplomat!®

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? *Foreign service personnel,* that's who.

Now you can learn to speak German with the same materials used by the U.S. State Department —the Foreign Service Institute's *Programmed Introduction to German.*

The FSI spent thousands of dollars and many years developing these materials for use by members of the United States diplomatic corps. Today people in all walks of life who need to learn to speak a foreign language are turning to this outstanding audio program.

The FSI's German Course is by far *the most effective way* to learn German at your own convenience and pace. It consists of a series of cassettes, recorded by native German speakers, and accompanying textbook. You simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and learning. By the end of the course you'll find yourself learning and speaking entirely in German!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "programmed" learning method, you set your own pace—testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

This FSI Programmed Course comes in two volumes, each shipped in a handsome library binder. Order either, or save 10% by ordering both:

☐ **Volume I. Programmed Introduction to German,** 10 cassettes (13 hr.), and 647-p. text, $135.

☐ **Volume II. Basic Course Continued.** 8 cassettes, (8 hr.), and 179-p. text, $120.

(CT residents add sales tax.)

TO ORDER BY PHONE, PLEASE CALL TOLL-FREE NUMBER: **1-800-243-1234.**

To order by mail, clip this ad and send with your name and address, and a check or money order — or charge to your credit card (VISA, MasterCard, AmEx, Diners) by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's German Course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn German, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid. Order today!

120 courses in 41 other languages also available. Write us for free catalog. Our 12th year.

Audio-Forum
Room L58
On-The-Green,
Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794

AUDIO-FORUM®

1844

HILLSDALE COLLEGE
HILLSDALE, MICHIGAN 49242

Hillsdale College invites applicants to fill a unique position in American academic life: directing Hillsdale's Center for Constructive Alternatives and Shavano Institute. The successful applicant will be responsible for integrating the College's national leadership program with its traditional liberal arts curriculum.

This is a cabinet level position, reporting to the President of the College. Duties include organization of seminars and symposia on topics related to public policy; administration of a nationally known speaker series; editing *Imprimis*, a monthly letter of ideas; and directing various off-campus leadership and management seminars.

Substantial academic credentials are required, as well as evidence of success outside the academy in public policy, business, journalism, or other fields related to talents the position demands.

The successful candidate will be convinced that ideas do have consequences and will make a personal commitment to the College's mission and long range objectives of establishing Hillsdale as one of the country's major intellectual centers for the efficacy of traditional values, responsible individual freedom, the ethical power of the free market system, and the wisdom of limited government.

Send credentials to:

Dr. Russell L. Nichols
Vice President for Academic Affairs,
Hillsdale College,
Hillsdale, Michigan 49242.

Deadline: September 20, 1985

Hillsdale College proudly adheres to the non-discriminatory policy regarding race, religion, sex, or national or ethnic origin that it has maintained since long before governments found it necessary to regulate such matters.

timate conclusion the implication of his criticism of the very real and on-going constitutional convention being held by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Let us not deceive ourselves. The High Court has become a pathological growth upon the body politic of our Republic. The legal dispute over the desirability of a convention called by the states is secondary to the question of what must now be done to permanently constrain the Court's ability to make mischief. In so doing, we must also move beyond the quest of merely placing "our people" on the Supreme Court.

One option: A congressional veto over Supreme Court decrees, perhaps itself subject to presidential veto.

Daniel G. Meissner
St. Louis, Mo.

Unholy Crusades

Regarding "Crusades: Time for Another?" [Aug. 9], by Harold O. J. Brown, one would certainly hope there will never be another Crusade like the ones in the past. They served permanently to split the Orthodox Catholic churches from the Roman Catholic because of the rape, pillage, and desecration of Orthodox churches, shrines, and monasteries. In fact, the Shroud of "Turin" was "obtained" in these times.

Oleg N. Dudkin
Berwyn, Pa.

Wager Accepted

William F. Rickenbacker owes me a nickel. He wagered that no reader of *NR* ["Mail Call," July 26] had read a sermon published in the last fifty years.

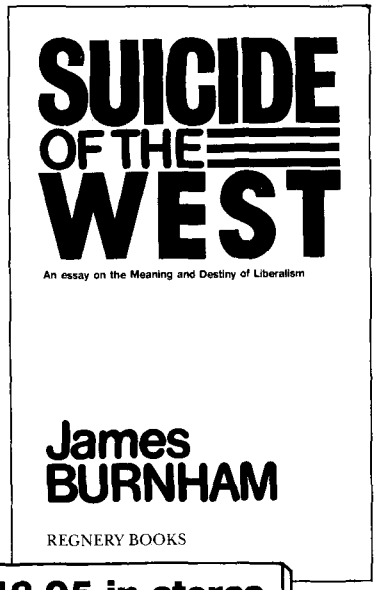
Among the books on my library shelves are sermons of the Reverend J. Dwight Pentecost, pastor of Grace Bible Church of Dallas, Texas, published by Fleming H. Revell Co. during the 1960s; several volumes of sermon manuscripts by Chinese evangelist Watchman Nee, also published in the 1960s and 1970s; and a volume published by Zondervan Publishing containing 35 sermons given in 1945 and 1946 by Dr. M. R. DeHaan, a lay minister from Grand Rapids, Michigan. My copy of the three-hundred-page DeHaan book is from the 25th printing in 1976.

Charlotte Wilcox
Harris, Minn.

William F. Rickenbacker wagers "that no reader of this page has read a sermon published in the last fifty years." Since many *NR* readers (and I suspect that most *NR* readers are readers of Mr. Rickenbacker's page whenever it appears) are also devoted C. S. Lewis fans, *I*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If you wonder why Congress caves in to the Communists, read this book



$18.95 in stores — yours FREE!

This is the book that dissects liberalism deep down to its rotten core . . . as no book ever has. Thanks to Burnham's insights, we finally see that strange amalgam of selfrighteousness, guilt, arrogance, double standard, good intention, selective indignation, selective compassion and fuzzy logic that forms the mind and psychology of the liberal. A hint of the riches:

- Why the liberal cannot rule.
- Why liberalism is the ideology of suicide.
- Why liberalism clashes with Christianity.
- The common ancestors of liberalism and Communism.
- Why liberals sneer at patriotism.
- Very precisely: how liberalism lies at the root of race riots, murderous taxes, national surrender and the crime explosion — and why liberals are helpless to do anything about their own follies.
- The inner drives that impel liberals to war on the Right — while giving the Left an ever-so-gentle tap on the wrist, at worst.
- EXTRA! Burnham's fascinating "39 Articles of Liberalism," an intriguing text that you, or anyone, can take to determine your "ideological quotient." You'll be astonished at how accurately it pinpoints anyone's political slant.

If you haven't yet immersed yourself in this classic, prepare for one of the mind-opening experiences of your life.

Important for Christians and Jews

Why do so many religious people follow the siren song of liberalism? James Burnham throws light on corners once dark.

Enthusiasm for this classic, all across the spectrum

"Despite the fact that James Burnham's *Suicide of the West* has not been given the attention it merits, it will find its way and make history. It is brilliantly written, clearly reasoned, and remarkably restrained, given the subject matter: the sickness of Western civilization and its causes."—Irene Corbally Kuhn, *Christian Economics*

"Expounds with corrosive clarity the right-wing case . . . I am sure that the gravest mistake we can commit is to underrate the importance of his attack on liberal thinking and liberalism in government."—R. H. S. Crossman, *Partisan Review*

"If any book may rouse the friends of order, justice and freedom to intelligent action against the grim enemies of civilization, Mr. Burnham has given us just such an instrument."—Russell Kirk

"James Burnham has written a book about Liberalism for which the world has been aching. It is worth more to the West than the year's gross national product, more than all our planes and bombs — with all of these, we have still been losing out in the world. But this book is not only a pathologist's report. It gives the key for the recovery of the West."...—William F. Buckley, Jr.

How to get this mind-opening book FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at give-away prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, NY 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, free and postpaid, James Burnham's seminal study of the liberal mind, the $18.95 *Suicide of the West*. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

NR – 79

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would wager that they have read at least one sermon: Lewis's "The Weight of Glory," delivered in Oxford's University Church and first published in November 1941, well within the fifty-year span.

Julie Wilcox
Chicago, Ill.

Not One Cent for Tribute

Your brief mention of the Barbary pirates ["The Week," July 26] is definitely, as you said, "food for thought," but giving the credit completely to France for ending this eighteenth-century terrorism is incorrect. American naval activities against and diplomatic negotiations with the Barbary States was sufficient—and possibly relevant for today.

Diplomatic relations between 1776 and 1815 emphasized commercial, naval, and military aspects and involved most of our Founding Fathers. In 1784, the Confederation Congress authorized Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson to make treaties with the piratical states. Unfortunately, negotiations were not completely satisfactory, and the American Government escalated gradually to a general war with these states.

In 1815, over 450 Americans were being held in Algiers for ransom. The amounts of tribute and gifts seemed to be increasing without end. Thus, to keep the seas open to our trade, American policy changed to one of meeting force with force. This new crisis gave the fledgling U.S. Navy some of its first heroes, foremost among whom stand Eaton and Decatur. Their activities included blockading the port of Algiers, attacking and seizing Barbary ships at sea, and finally invading and bombarding Algiers itself.

After Congress's authorization to President Madison "to wage effective hostilities against Algiers," and negotiations by both military and diplomatic personnel, the United States had no further disputes of consequence with any of the Barbary powers and, unlike a number of the European powers, did not pay tribute again.

Robert T. Bluth
Granada Hills, Calif.

A Tale of Two Kings

NR's evocation of the three-hundredth anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes ["Abroad," Aug. 9] and the persecution of Huguenots in France is presented with neither accuracy nor relevance. Calvinists did not prosper in France under the provisions of the edict, nor did it guarantee "religious and civil liberty" as we understand it. It was an *ad hoc* and peculiar arrangement forced upon the French monarchy by the military power of the Huguenots allied with the feudal nobility. The monarchy interpreted the edict as narrowly as possible during the seventeenth century and finally brought the Huguenots' autonomy to an end, their separate status being intolerable to any true royalist.

The real lesson of these events, I would suggest, is that Henri IV chose the religion of the majority of his subjects over his own personal preferences, while Louis XIV believed that all Frenchmen must believe exactly as he did. There is surely a lesson here for the relation between elites and masses, rulers and subjects, leaders and followers.

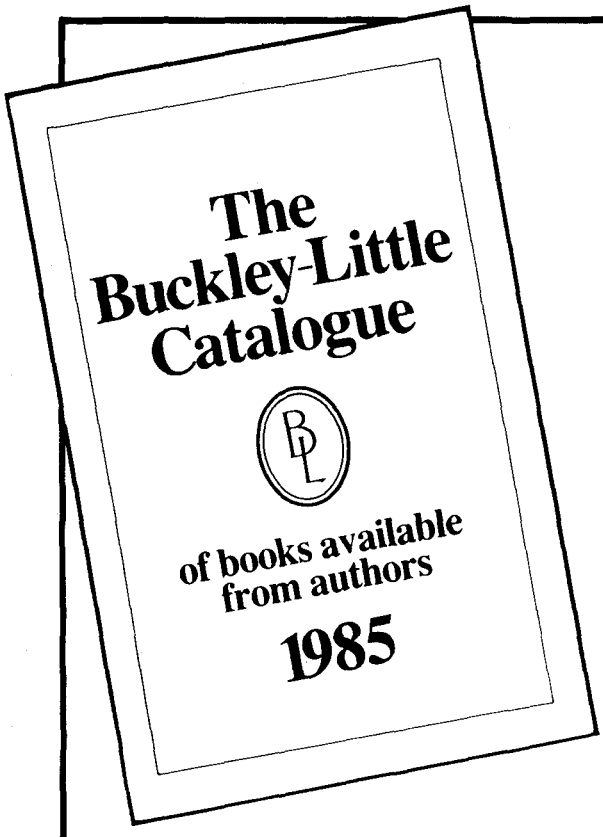
Norman Ravitch
Riverside, Calif.

Ukrainian Famine

Can you give me the address of the Canadian filmmaker who produced the work on the Ukrainian famine, *Harvest of Despair* ["The Week," July 26]? This kind of endeavor needs to be publicized.

Lloyd Billingsley
Poway, Calif.

Inquiries should be addressed to the Ukrainian Studies Fund, Harvard University, 1581-83 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass. 02138. —LB



Here's the second edition of the only catalogue of out-of-print books available directly from their authors—autographed, if requested.

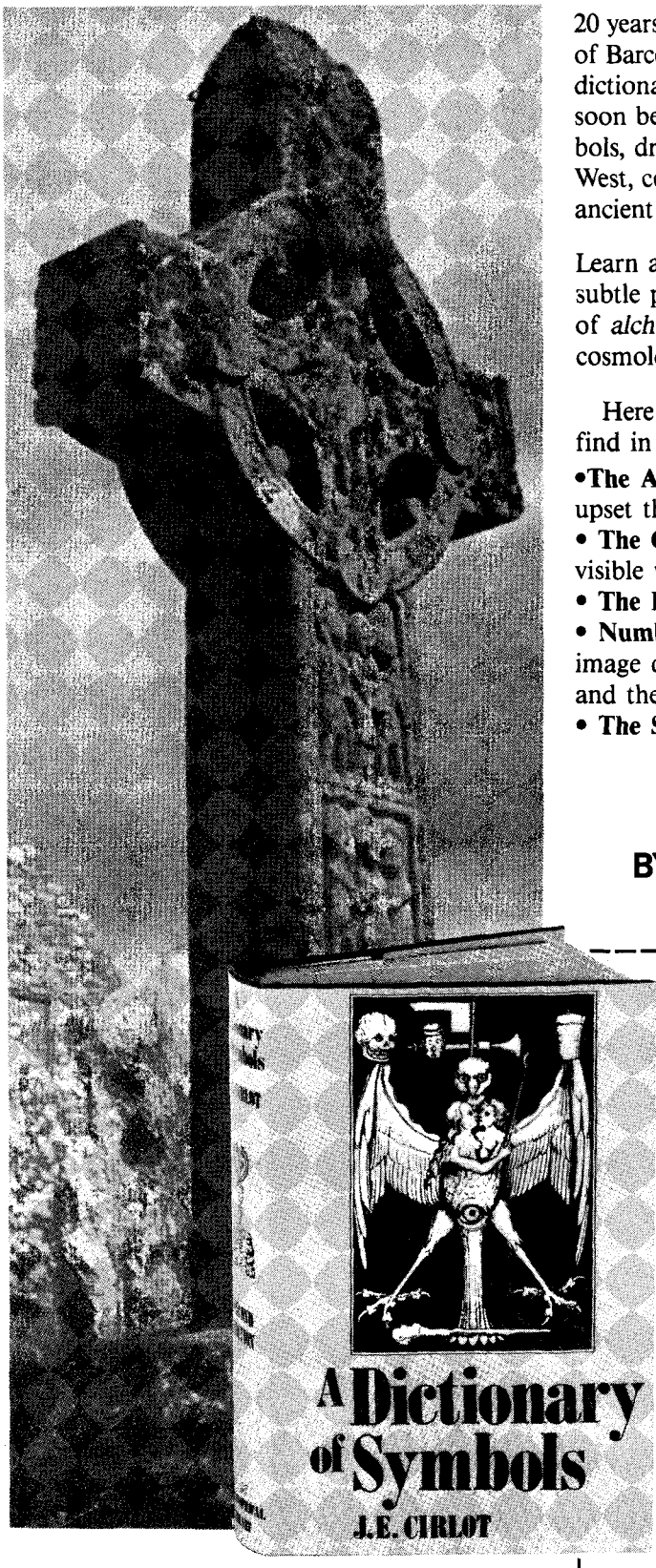
Edited by William F. Buckley, Jr. and Stuart W. Little, it lists over 800 titles. Among the authors—Norman Podhoretz, Stephen Birmingham, Pauline Kael, Harlan Ellison, Vance Bourjaily, Marge Piercy, Jack Paar.

Books by poets, historians, novelists, scientists, humorists, philosophers.

For your copy, send $8.50, plus $1.00 for postage and handling, to Buckley-Little, P.O. Box 512, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Very Unusual Dictionary of the Origin of Symbols.



20 years ago, Juan Eduardo Cirlot, the leader of the School of Barcelona modern art movement, assembled a fascinating dictionary of symbolic words and imagery. This dictionary soon became a classic. These mysterious and familiar symbols, drawn from the religions, arts and beliefs of East and West, cover literally centuries of symbolic imagery spanning ancient times to modern.

Learn about the universal fascination with the *dragon;* the subtle power of *colors* and *numbers;* the ancient mysteries of *alchemy,* the *Tarot,* and the *Cabala;* about mythology, cosmology, and dreams and more.

Here are just a few surprising facts about symbols you will find in this book:

- **The Acrobat.** The symbol of reversal, with the power to upset the established order.
- **The Crow.** The great civilizer and the creator of the visible world.
- **The Dance.** The universal symbol for creation.
- **Number Nine.** The triplication of the triple—a complete image of the three worlds: the corporeal, the intellectual, and the spiritual.
- **The Stranger.** Stands for the possibility of unseen change.

Pub. at $22.50
BY MAIL ORDER ONLY $9.95

Barnes & Noble

Booksellers Since 1873

DEPT. D60 126 FIFTH AVE., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

1026004. Please rush me____copies of *A Dictionary of Symbols* at your special sale price of $9.95 (plus $1.25 shipping and insurance). *N.Y. and N.J. residents: Please add sales tax.*
30-Day Money-Back Guarantee.

Name

Address

State Zip

CHARGE IT! Check one ☐ VISA ☐ MC ☐ AMEX.

Account# Exp. Date

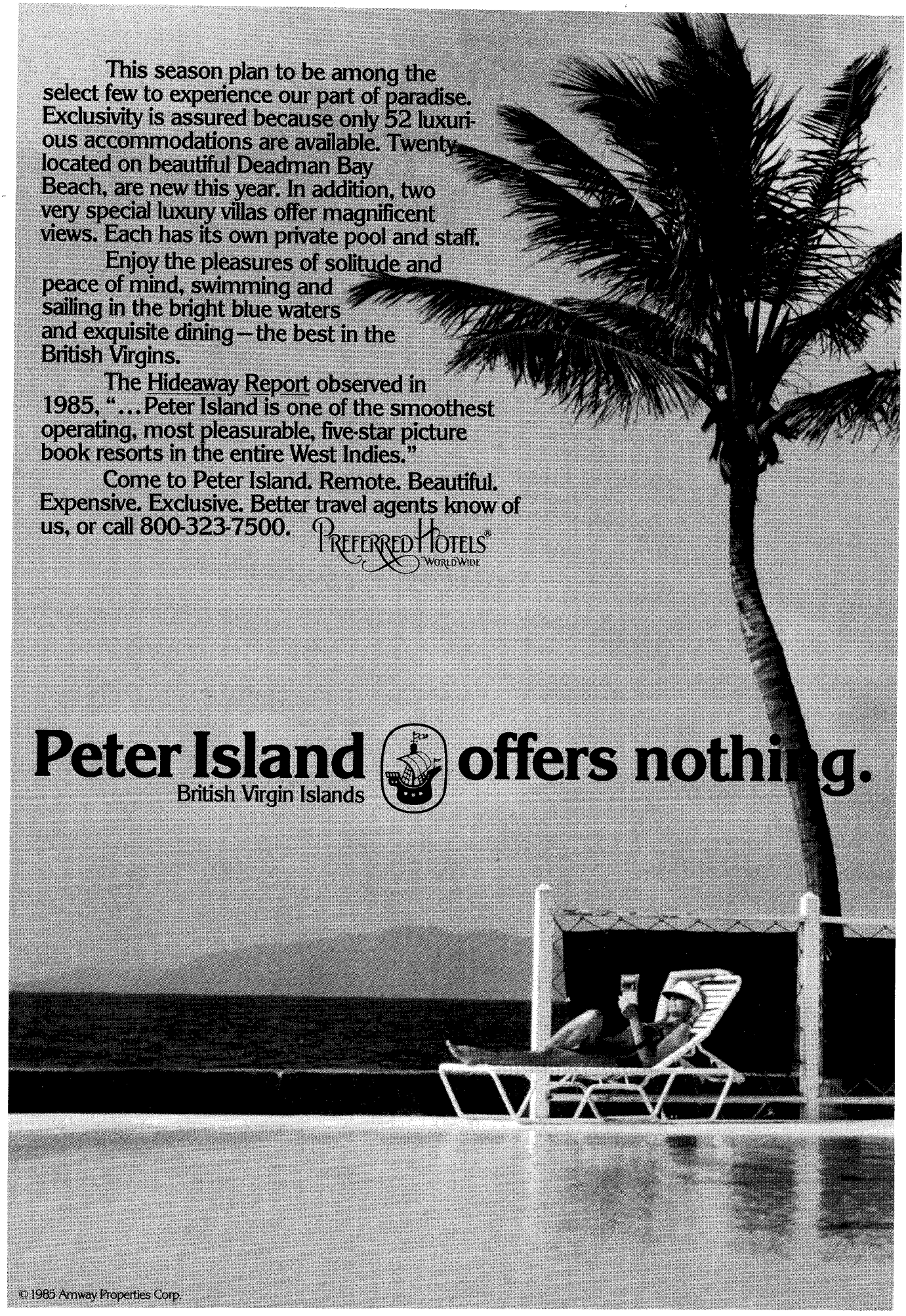
Signature

Offer good only in the continental U.S.A.

The World's Largest Bookstore.

© 1985 Barnes & Noble Bookstores, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

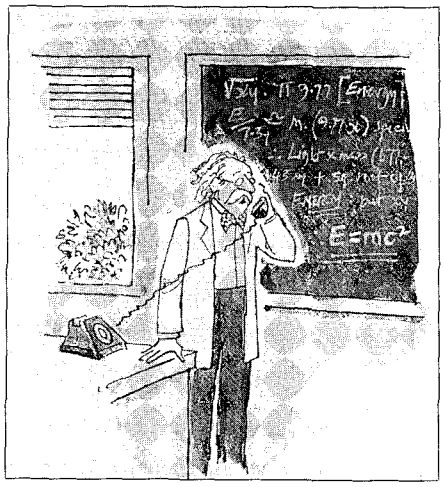

This season plan to be among the select few to experience our part of paradise. Exclusivity is assured because only 52 luxurious accommodations are available. Twenty, located on beautiful Deadman Bay Beach, are new this year. In addition, two very special luxury villas offer magnificent views. Each has its own private pool and staff.
Enjoy the pleasures of solitude and peace of mind, swimming and sailing in the bright blue waters and exquisite dining—the best in the British Virgins.
The Hideaway Report observed in 1985, "...Peter Island is one of the smoothest operating, most pleasurable, five-star picture book resorts in the entire West Indies."
Come to Peter Island. Remote. Beautiful. Expensive. Exclusive. Better travel agents know of us, or call 800-323-7500.
PREFERRED HOTELS® WORLDWIDE
Peter Island
British Virgin Islands
offers nothing.
© 1985 Amway Properties Corp.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

V-J Day + 40: Neither *New York Times* nor *Washington Post*, which had splashed anniversary of Hiroshima bombing over front, and every other, page for previous week, carried news story on V-J Day anniversary, August 14: They contented themselves with editorial on subject. . . . *Post*'s deputy managing editor, **Richard Hargood** (who survived four Marine landings in Pacific in WW II), made the point on Op-Ed page: "A child or a visitor from another planet would assume from what has been printed and shown to us by television that World War II consisted of a single event: the dropping, for no earthly reason, of two nuclear weapons on the innocent people of Japan." . . . A bumper sticker spotted in New Jersey made the point another way: NO MORE HIROSHIMAS? EASY. NO MORE PEARL HARBORS. . . . On more current military matters, two very contradictory polls on support for Star Wars in America: *Washington Post*/ABC News poll says 53 per cent of Americans are against SDI in light of the criticism against it; and support would drop if it meant abrogation of ABM treaty. Meanwhile, **Sindlinger** poll, published in Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review*, Summer issue, found 85 per cent in favor of missile defense (SDI) even if it cannot protect everyone; 69 per cent in favor even if it means withdrawing from arms-control talks.

The Right in Motion: **Bob Tyrrell**'s sprightly, barbed-tongued *The American Spectator* made the move from Bloomington, Ind., to Arlington, Va., earlier this month (1101 North Highland, P.O. Box 10448). Quipped Tyrrell: "After five years President **Reagan** has sufficiently pacified the Washington region for me to move there." . . . **Richard Viguerie** has sold his ten-year-old *Conservative Digest* to **William Kennedy**, who will bring in **Scott Stanley** as editor. Stanley was long-time editor of **John Birch Society**'s *Review of the News*, which has folded, as has the JBS's *American Opinion*. JBS, in what looks like major shake-up, will have new publication, *The New American*, with brand-new set of editors. . . . **Cal Thomas**, chief spokesman for Moral Majority, has quit, is going back to newspapering, will write column for Los Angeles Times Syndicate. . . . Senate Majority Leader **Robert Dole**, in move that should, and might even, ingratiate him with Washington conservatives, has picked **Donald Devine**—former chief of Office of Personnel Management; board member of ACU and Heritage fellow—to head his political-action committee, Campaign America. . . . Former Assistant Treasury Secretary **Paul Craig Roberts**—who is not often pleased by Administration personnel choices—likes appointment of **James Miller III** to succeed **David Stockman**. "He will be inclined to serve the President rather than pursue some independent agenda," says Roberts.



Nick, *Punch* / Rothco

"No, no—that's E as in Einstein, M as in Manhattan, C as in cataclysm."

About **Gorbachev**, that new broom in the Kremlin. International Press Institute in London reports there's been increased pressure in Soviet Union on Western correspondents since Gorbachev's ascension. Latest incident, prolonged interrogation of *Christian Science Monitor* reporter **Gary Thatcher** at frontier post and seizure of documents, photographs, tapes, and clippings. Thatcher was returning to Moscow from Helsinki, where he covered tenth anniversary of Helsinki treaty, which assures freedom of the press among other things. . . . **Evans & Novak** report new repressions in Poland put in place by Gorbachev, including stiff warning to Gen. **Jaruzelski** that he can count on "the support of the Soviet Party in their [the Polish authorities'] struggle to bring Poland back to . . . Socialist stability." Number of political prisoners and trials is way up; one priest, Father **Marek Labuda**, received suspended one-year sentence simply for protesting removal of crucifixes from school in his parish. . . . President **Babrak Karmal**, Soviet puppet in Kabul, has announced that 320,000 landless peasants have been given 3.5 million acres of land. (Since Karmal came to power, four out of ten Afghans have died or gone into exile.)

Hoover Presidential Library Association (P.O. Box 696, West Branch, Iowa 52358) announces availability of research assistance to scholars conducting original research on **Herbert Hoover** period (1921 to 1933). . . . National Journalism Center's fall program (Sept. 23 to Dec. 13) will offer training in writing, editing, and research and six weeks' work experience in communications field in Washington area. Contact **M. Stanton Evans**, **Tom Davis**, or **Mal Kline** (517 2nd Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002) by Sept. 6. . . . USIC Educational Foundation's third annual dinner (Oct. 1, at Denver Club in Denver, Colo.) will honor Professor **Edward Rozek** (see "The Persecution of Edward Rozek," *NR*, Feb. 22, 1985).

And Washington's Think-Tank Softball Trophy has gone to Heritage Foundation's "Capitalist Tools," who downed the Brookings Institution nine, 11 to 3. Heritage got to finals by trouncing: the Democratic National Committee, the Sierra Club, the Institute for Policy Studies, and **Ted Kennedy**'s office staff.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

☐ Moscow (Aug. 20)—Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev today pleaded with Western nations not to impose sanctions against the Soviet Union. In an address to the Supreme Soviet, he stressed his nation's efforts to control human-rights abuses, extend the franchise, and withdraw troops from Afghanistan. "Our system is imperfect," he said, "but we are working diligently to correct it. All we ask is time. The legacy of a century can't be dismantled overnight." He outlined a three-year plan to guarantee a system of one man, one vote, with opposition press and parties free to organize and express demands and grievances. In Washington, congressional leaders reacted with skepticism. "This is the most abhorrent system on earth," said Senator Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.). "They've had plenty of time. We don't intend to let them stall any more. Justice delayed is justice denied." Kennedy attacked what he called Administration "coddling" of the Soviet regime.

☐ Amid all the calls for a tax increase, bear in mind that federal revenues have increased sharply since Ronald Reagan took office and pushed for tax cuts. It's *spending* that's gone out of sight, to a projected $967.6 billion for 1986, nearly half again what it was at the end of Jimmy Carter's term ($657 billion). If spending had held constant (and where's your veto pen, Mr. President?), we'd now be facing a budget surplus of $100 billion or so. The supply-side approach can work *some* miracles, but nobody ever said it could outstrip Tip O'Neill's spending habits.

The Bomb Ceremony

The candle-lighted paper boats
  Slip slowly down the river
As, annually, temple bells
  Induce an awful shiver.
Old men remember where they were
  While chatting with the barber,
But few connect the fireball
  With blowing up Pearl Harbor.

W. H. VON DREELE

☐ The GOP picked up four House seats in Texas last November, and it hoped to pick up a fifth this year with the perfect Republican candidate in the 1st District, Wright Patman country. The candidate was Edd Hargett, 37, a former Texas A&M quarterback, a conservative, and a farmer. The Hargett campaign spent $1 million in a district that had not once gone Republican in 114 years. President Reagan and Vice President Bush made TV campaign ads for Hargett. But no go. His Democratic opponent, a very conservative former DA named Jim Chapman, forty, came from behind with a hard-hitting campaign for tariffs and Social Security COLAs (the proportion of senior citizens in the 1st District is twice that of the rest of Texas). Chapman won in a squeaker, 52,670 to 50,737. Yes, there are times to talk sense on economics and times to punt. Hargett's defeat was a glitch in realignment.

☐ Secretary of Education William Bennett has the eloquence and the learning to be point-man in reshaping public consciousness about the centrality of religion in Western culture. In an August 7 speech, which deserves to be widely pondered, he reflected upon the chaos of recent Supreme Court decisions regarding the supposed "wall" of separation between church and state: "Aid for parochial-school textbooks is fine; aid for school supplies such as maps is not. Bus transportation to and from school can be provided for parochial-school students; but bus transportation to and from field trips cannot be provided. State money can pay for standardized tests in parochial schools, but not for teacher-made tests. Senator Moynihan's famous question—What do you do with a map that's in a textbook?—has yet to be litigated." Mr. Bennett endorses the voucher system and tuition tax credits in order not to discriminate *against* religious education, as if it were some sort of disease. And his compass is true: "Was George Washington wrong when he argued that 'reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle'? Was Jefferson wrong when he asserted that the liberties of a nation cannot be thought secure 'when we have removed the only firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God'? Has subsequent history made the wisdom

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Gray,
rd University, England:
ldly original way of making
f familiar with the key ideas that
ave shaped our world. Scholarly,
ompelling, and entertaining—a most
useful series."

Listen to Jefferson.

Revolutions are still fought over his ideas.

The ideas of Jefferson, Paine, Thoreau, Marx, Rousseau and others have changed the world. They are still changing the world today. Knowledge Products has gathered the works of the world's most influential writers into a collection of professionally produced, provocative audio tapes. **Significant excerpts from each work are included, but these tapes are far more than a mere reading. The Audio Classics discuss the authors, their ideas, and the historical conflicts that inspired their work. A dramatic format brings the classics to life, making them entertaining as well as informative.**

The Investment in Time: The Hours You Aren't Using.

If you spend 20 minutes a day in your car, you have time to listen to the ideas of Locke, Mill, Tocqueville and others. Put a cassette into your player and learn, anywhere and any time. The Knowledge Products Audio Classics Series can become a mobile seminar.

The Investment in Money: No Obligation For 30 Days.

Send for our first package of tapes. Choose the terms you prefer—$47.50 per month for four months ($190—less than $8 per cassette), or save 10% by paying the advance price of $170 (just over $7 per cassette). Two tapes will arrive approximately every 30 days, 24 cassettes in all. Depending on your circumstances, this may be tax deductible.

The Value of Great Ideas.

This 'age of information' in which we live is not necessarily the age of wisdom. The Audio Classics Series is designed for those who have the desire but not enough time to lead what Socrates called '*the informed life*'.

There is absolutely no risk to you. This is the Knowledge Products guarantee: return the first package of tapes within 30 days, and you owe nothing. If you become dissatisfied at any point in the series, cancel and receive a pro rata refund for all the tapes you haven't received.

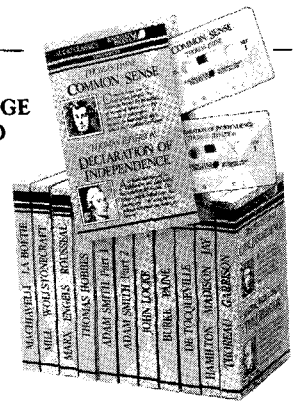
The Complete Audio Classics Series

1. • **COMMON SENSE**
   • **DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**
2. • **CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE**
   • **THE LIBERATOR**
3. • **WEALTH OF NATIONS (Part 1)***
4. • **WEALTH OF NATIONS (Part 2)***
5. • **THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO**
   • **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT**
6. • **THE PRINCE**
   • **DISCOURSE ON VOLUNTARY SERVITUDE**
7. • **ON LIBERTY**
   • **VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN**
8. • **REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE**
   • **RIGHTS OF MAN**
9. • **LEVIATHAN***
10. • **THE FEDERALIST PAPERS***
11. • **TWO TREATISES OF GOVERNMENT***
12. • **DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA***

**One title in a two-tape set*

For telephone orders, call toll free
1-800-453-9000 Ext. 20

THE KNOWLEDGE YOU NEED IS NOW ON TAPE.



Order the Audio Classics Series at No Risk. Cancel with full refund within 30 days if not satisfied.

☐ Send me the first two tapes, Common Sense and the Declaration of Independence. I understand that the balance of 22 tapes will arrive in packages of two approximately every 30 days. I will pay:

By Credit Card

☐ $47.50 per month for four months ($190 total payment)

By Credit Card or Check

☐ $170 advance payment (A savings of 10%)

☐ Personal Check ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa ☐ American Express

Acct. # _____

Expires on: _____

Signature _____

☐ Please send me your brochure for more information.

☐ Name _____
Please print clearly

Address _____

_____

State, Zip _____

Phone number _____

KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTS

120 Tremont Street, Boston, MA 02108

© Knowledge Products 1985 NR20

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

THE GOVERNMENT has moved to Santa Barbara and Martha's Vineyard to escape Washington's sweltering dog days. Included in the exodus was an intrepid band of Democrats who dub themselves the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC). In mid-August, key members of the council descended on California, where they conferred with high-tech CEOs (Silicon Valley) and held fundraisers and press conferences (San Francisco, Los Angeles, Santa Monica). Arizona governor and council co-chairman Bruce Babbitt, who led the expedition, described its twofold purpose as "to chart a new course for a great political party" and "to ignite a nationwide debate on international trade." Babbitt was generous with his criticism of the GOP: "Republicans seem blind to the consequences of losing in trade," he stated, citing "a declining manufacturing base, the loss of our technological edge, the export of U.S. jobs overseas, and a lower standard of living for all Americans."

California is the locus of the DLC swing because that is "where the nation's economic future is unfolding," said Babbitt, and "where the cutting edge of political change is occurring." Virginia Governor Charles Robb and Missouri Representative Dick Gephardt (who is the other DLC co-chairman) accompanied Babbitt.

Just six months old, the DLC has weathered a shaky start: At birth, it was given just two months to live by older Democratic hands. That was clearly the wish of the Democratic National Committee, which regarded it as a rump group, fractious and disruptive. More conservative than the DNC fiscally and socially, the DLC is also pro-defense and friendly to business.

Not only has it survived, but it has made similar excursions to Florida, Texas, North Carolina, and elsewhere. Gephardt and Robb, two of the DLC's three founding directors (with Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia), have unmistakable presidential ambitions, as does Governor Babbitt, so the DLC functions also to showcase the new talent and to split them off from party rank-and-filers who labor under the burden of a spent liberalism. While it is true that the DLC has gotten little media recognition, nevertheless it has moved more surefootedly than the Democratic establishment had thought possible.

The DNC now says nice things about it. "We welcome their input," says DNC official Terry Michael, "their moderate, mainstream, and centrist direction. There's no conflict between them and us." Conversely, the DLC is also warbling its woodnotes at the DNC: "We mesh," says executive director Alvin From. "Don't take that too seriously," says a Democratic insider: "It's like two boxers shaking hands before they come out fighting."

What are Republicans saying about the DLC phenomenon? That the young leadership in the Democratic pipeline has to be taken seriously, notably Messrs. Robb, Gephardt, and Babbitt. Any Democratic governor of Virginia who can get an 80 per cent popularity rating and who preaches DLC values must be reckoned with. Ditto the regionally popular Gephardt and Babbitt. Second, protectionism and the deficit could become fulcrum issues for the 1986 and 1988 elections, as partially demonstrated by Jim Chapman's unexpected win over Edd Hargett in Texas's 1st Congressional District special election on August 3. Hargett made the mistake of inquiring publicly what difference U.S. trade policy made to his constituents, whereupon Chapman ran TV commercials picturing the local Lone Star Steel factory shut down because of foreign imports. *Verb. sat.*

Since his election as governor of Wisconsin in the fall of 1982, Anthony Earl has been champing at the bit to challenge GOP Senator Bob Kasten in 1986. Now facing nagging unpopularity (polls show him 25 points behind Kasten) brought on by tax increases imposed early in his term and an uncertain business climate, Earl has wisely pulled the plug on his Senate bid, choosing instead to run for re-election. As a result, Kasten, one of the GOP's most visible freshmen, will have easier sledding. Remaining challengers include former NFL player representative Ed Garvey, Assembly Speaker Tom Loftus, and former state Democratic Party chief Matt Flynn. Garvey's ties to the CIA when he headed the National Student Association in the Sixties, exposed by *Ramparts* magazine, are not expected to endear him to Wisconsin voters, who tend to dislike putative informers of any stripe. This is good news not only for Kasten, but also for the Republican National Committee, which of late has been shrinking its expectations from a continuation of the present Senate majority of 53 to 47, to a 51 to 49 retention, or even a 50-50 split, plus the White House. Too close for comfort. Everyone agrees that the economy will tell the final story. —CATO

---

of our Founders obsolete? I do not believe so." Mr. Bennett is turning out to be one of the major appointments of the Reagan Administration.

☐ People for the American Way—the most disingenuously named outfit since the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—is getting all sweaty and hysterical about the Reagan Administration's desire to appoint Reaganite judges. PAW's president, Anthony Podesta, equates this with Franklin Roosevelt's court-packing scheme. Mr. Podesta should read a little history, or maybe a little Scripture ("Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor"). Roosevelt wanted to expand the number of Supreme Court Justices, so that his flunkies would offset the "nine old men" who took the Constitution seriously. Reagan wants to fill normal openings with judges who take the Constitution seriously. PAW accuses the New Right of applying an unconstitutional "religious test" to prospective judicial appointees because their views on a variety of subjects—including what PAW clumsily calls "laws based on a Supreme Being"—have been sought before their appointments. Unless the American Way includes constitutional illiteracy, PAW should change its name.

☐ Anti-Communist forces in Nicaragua briefly detained 29 Americans belonging to a group called Wit-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hitler with Goering.
(UPI/Bettmann Archive)

SEE THEM LAUGH, PLAY AND TICKLE BABIES WHILE THEY PLAN MASS MURDER.

WORLD WAR II WITH WALTER CRONKITE

Narrated by Walter Cronkite.

NOW ON VIDEOCASSETTES EXCLUSIVELY FROM THE CBS VIDEO LIBRARY.

They were perfect Nazis. Hermann Goering, who charged fees to spectators at his own wedding, and who told his Gestapo: "Better to shoot the wrong man than not to shoot at all!" Joseph Goebbels, a failure as a writer who found in Nazism the ideal outlet for his fierce hatred. And Rudolf Hess, Hitler's alter ego, whose life took the most bizarre twists and turns of all.

See the men around Hitler...cavorting one moment, planning mass destruction the next. And then see the few who dared plot against Hitler and his madmen ...who dared to disobey evil. They're all in *The German High Command,* your introductory videocassette to WORLD WAR II WITH WALTER CRONKITE.

The German High Command is a 90-minute documentary of evil in four chapters: I—*Goering;* II—*Minister of Hate* (Goebbels); III—*The Strange Case of Rudolf Hess;* and IV—*The Plots Against Hitler.*

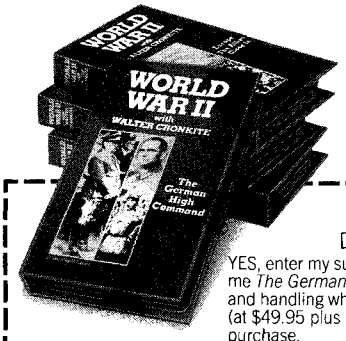
It's yours at the special price of just $4.95 plus shipping and handling—a full $45 off the regular subscription price! As a subscriber, future cassettes will be shipped to you, one every other month, always for 10 days' free examination. You'll see actual combat footage taken by front-line cameramen of *both* sides. Here's a partial list of contents:

• Anzio Beachhead • Burma Road and The Hump • D-Day Invasion • Doolittle Raid • Hiroshima • Iwo Jima • Leningrad Siege • Rommel: The Desert Fox • Suicide Run to Murmansk • Target: Ploesti • Warsaw Uprising.

Drawn from CBS' award-winning *20th Century* tv series and narrated by Walter Cronkite, each 90-minute cassette has four full segments, comes in matching slipcase of gold-embossed burgundy, and costs $49.95 plus shipping and handling. There is no minimum number you must buy, and you can cancel your subscription at any time.

For faster service, use your credit card when ordering and **call toll-free 1-800-457-0866** (now in Indiana call 1-800-742-1200). Or use the coupon below.

CBS VIDEO LIBRARY
1400 North Fruitridge Ave., Terre Haute, IN 47811



THIS VIDEOCASSETTE CONTAINS SOME OF THE MOST STARTLING FOOTAGE EVER ASSEMBLED.

THE GERMAN HIGH COMMAND

FOR ONLY $4.95

plus shipping and handling with subscription

CBS VIDEO LIBRARY

Dept. 591, P.O. Box 1111, Terre Haute, IN 47811

YES, enter my subscription to WORLD WAR II under the terms described in this ad. Send me *The German High Command* at the introductory price of $4.95, plus $2.45 shipping and handling which I am paying as indicated below (*fill in*). Also send me future cassettes (at $49.95 plus $2.45 shipping and handling) on 10 days approval, with no obligation to purchase.

Check One: ☐ **VHS** ☐ **BETA** Check How Paying:

☐ **CHECK ENCLOSED** for $7.40* ($4.95 + $2.45). Future cassettes billed with shipment. A86

☐ **CREDIT CARD.** Charge my series purchases, beginning with $7.40* for my first cassette to: A87
☐ American Express ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Diners Club

Account No. _____ Expires _____

Signature _____ PHONE ( ) _____

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____
(please print)

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

NOTE: All subscriptions subject to review. CBS Video Library reserves the right to reject or cancel any subscription. Offer limited to continental U.S. (excluding Alaska). ***Applicable sales tax added to all orders.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ness for Peace, who had come down, accompanied by 18 journalists, to help consolidate Communist power, or, as they put it, to deter rebel attacks. The name—Witness for Peace—tells you it's a leftist group, as does the rhetoric that surrounds it in the news stories: "activists," "ecumenical." After all, "peace" groups exist only to prevent violence against Communism. They aren't interested in preventing violence, say, against the South African government.

☐ Israel, like Great Britain, has an established religion. Also like Britain, it practices religious toleration: of various types of Judaism, and of Islam and Christianity as well. Rabbi Meir Kahane, born in America but now the leader of the small but growing Kach Party in Israel, wants to guarantee the dominant religion by expelling those who believe in others—specifically, by kicking out the country's Arabs. Kahane's fear is that the Arab population, which has a high birth rate, will out-reproduce Israel's Jews. "Zionism declares that there is going to be a Jewish state with a majority of Jews come what may. Democracy says, 'No, if the Arabs are the majority then they have the right to decide their own fate.' So Zionism and democracy are at odds." By that reasoning, Zionism and racism are not at odds. Kahane is the walking embodiment of the scurrilous UN resolution.

☐ The most remarkable thing about the Sandinistas' decision to allow several thousand Miskito Indians to return to the lands on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua from which the Sandinistas forcibly relocated them four years ago was not the decision itself, but how it was played in the American press. In their news columns, at least, both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* handled the story not so much as an occasion to propagandize for the "moderation" of the Ortega regime but rather as an opportunity 1) to review the brutality with which the Miskitos had been treated, 2) to allow Miskito leaders to air their continued distrust of the Sandinistas, and 3) to imply that the permitted return was only a tactical maneuver, which it clearly is.

Roger, *England* / Rothco

"Silicon? What kind of a name is that for a valley?"

On Second Thought

Dear Mr. Reagan: Since I'd still
Be paying an accountant's bill
For calculating what I'd keep,
I'd just as soon let old dogs sleep
Than tangle with new-fangled prose.
But, say, that's great about your nose!

W. H. VON DREELE

☐ From Shamokin, Pennsylvania, comes word that the state civil-rights coordinator has ordered a Benjamin Franklin motto removed from the wall of the Northumberland County Vocational-Technical School on grounds of linguistic sexism. The plaque in question reads, "He who hath a trade, hath an estate," and that discriminates against women, according to state official Glenn Davis. Which reminds us of another Franklin quotation: "I wish the bald eagle had not been chosen as the representative of our country. The turkey is a much more respectable bird, and withal a true original native of America."

☐ Have you heard about *The Religion & Society Report*? It's an eight-page monthly newsletter edited by Pastor Richard John Neuhaus, a brilliant observer and one of the few clergymen of whom one catches oneself saying that he's funny as hell. Sample: "Religious and other peace activists had for years been decrying MAD [Mutual Assured Destruction] as the ultimate obscenity and absurdity. Then Mr. Reagan started talking about a dramatic alternative, the Strategic Defense Initiative (pejoratively known as 'Star Wars'). As quick as you can say *The National Catholic Reporter*, the advocates of peace assured us that MAD is the only sensible policy." Again: When *The New Republic*'s TRB argued that a reversal of *Roe* v. *Wade* "could become the cornerstone of a liberal revival based on the issue of personal freedom," the *Report* replied: "That strikes us as a prospect both unlikely and unappealing, not least because it would force then-President Cuomo into the position of working to change a consensus with which he personally agrees, and it seems to us that he has been through moral contortions enough over this issue." It's all at that level, believe it or not, and you can subscribe

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for $24 a year through the Rockford Institute, 934 North Main Street, Rockford, Ill. 61103-7061.

☐ Afghan freedom-fighters have reportedly committed aggression against the sacred Soviet motherland, and not a word of protest from Moscow! It seems the "rebels," with some success, have been making periodic cross-border raids to capture weapons and pass out leaflets urging Soviet Moslems to revolt. It also seems that official Moscow would rather not publicize gaps in the barbed wire around the workers' paradise.

☐ Western ways are pouring into China perhaps a bit too quickly. First a "lottery craze" had to be stamped out by the government. Next came the first beauty contest since 1949. Well, not quite a beauty contest: "Contestants were judged on personality, knowledge, physical fitness, appearance, and talents," and men were eligible. The women "shunned traditional uniforms for well-tailored skirts and blouses" (c. 1949). "Communist Party hard-liners" were said to be angry, fearing that the contest would give the world a bad impression of China. However, things have not become entirely decadent: no makeup.

☐ A West German paper reports that a four-man Soviet tank crew got lost on maneuvers in Czechoslovakia. To make matters worse, their limited vodka ration was running out. The tank rumbled into a village and found the pub open. The crew had enough money to buy one bottle of vodka; then the leader traded his gold wedding ring for three more. Around closing time, the crew was seen leaving the pub with two cases of vodka and several pounds of herring and pickles, for which they had traded the tank. The crew was found a couple of days later sleeping it off in the woods, and the remains of the dismantled tank were located behind the pub after the owner started selling pieces of it to a metal-recycling center.

☐ Mr. Wilber Snapp, the organist at the Clearwater, Florida, baseball park, got tossed out by the umpire when, after a disputed call, he played "Three Blind Mice." Why is everyone so testy these days?

☐ The mullahs are optimistic about the impending presidential election in Iran, having ruled opposition candidates off the ballot.

☐ Police in Santa Rosa, California, have confiscated a two-hundred-year-old mummy from the owner of a carnival sideshow, claiming it is against California law to have possession of a dead human being. The owner of the sideshow was not arrested, but the mummy was put in jail. We are never going to understand California.

☐ A bad week for the vice squad in Toledo. A judge ruled that a live dancer at an adult bookstore cannot be prosecuted because the vice officer who watched her perform was not aroused. The police, upset, vow they will try again with a more excitable vice officer.

Fried Walkers

THE CONSTITUTION nowhere mentions the right of privacy, or the wall of separation between church and state. But it several times mentions treason. The Founders, it seems, had an order of legal concerns different from ours. The Walker spy case suggests that their order of concerns was superior.

We no longer seriously contemplate the execution of spies. The Rosenbergs were a sensational exception, whose deaths are now widely regretted. (*The Rosenberg File*, by Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton—a pair of left-wing scholars who hoped to prove the Rosenbergs innocent but discovered that they were, in fact, guilty—nevertheless deplored their electrocution.) It is not hard to see why the public changes heart. Moments of danger pass; enemies, who once seemed threatening, become partners in détente or objects of appeasement. The secrets that spies pass on become either widely known over the passage of time (how to build a bomb), or irrelevant (the diplomatic cables Hiss gave Chambers). Spying rarely involves direct crimes of kidnapping or violence. So the natural mood is: Let them go.

That is why the death penalty for spying and treason is particularly appropriate. The fact that secrets may cease to be secrets does not diminish the seriousness of stealing them. Timing is everything. Foreign powers should be forced to spend their own effort and resources developing their arsenals. Each lightly punished spy, moreover, encourages the spying of others—if not in the case of fanatical zealots like the Rosenbergs and Hiss, then certainly in the case of greedy nerds like the Walkers. Treason, finally, may kill no one; but it has the potential of endangering the lives and the freedom of all citizens.

It is time to assert the national interest and weigh the demands of justice.

Hitler Knew Something

"THE RACE QUESTION," said Adolf Hitler, "not only furnishes the key to world history but also to human culture as a whole. . . . There is absolutely no other revolution but a racial revolution."

To the enlightened and civilized, all of that sounded like gobbledygook. According to sophisticated books, the term "race" had little if any scientific status. There was no evidence that any "race" was superior to another. We were all part of "mankind," though divid-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ed somewhat arbitrarily into "nation-states." Our rational destiny was some sort of Parliament of Man.

Only it turns out that Hitler was, politically viewed, very nearly right. Race, or more antiseptically "ethnicity," emerges as the critical factor in twentieth-century political behavior, with religion—another atavistic category, from the enlightened standpoint—running a close second. And, often, race and religion are intertwined, reinforcing one another.

These reflections are prompted by the deteriorating situation in South Africa, where race is the determinant, and by the fatuous things being said about South Africa in so many quarters. As we go to press, Zulu mobs are killing ethnic Indians in Durban and looting their property. A dozen black tribes—"races"—await the opportunity to leap at one another's throats, on the Zimbabwean model. A white minority, heavily armed and determined, sits atop a vast black majority—a *sui generis* situation in which the First World minority, with much of European civilization about it, dominates what amounts to a submerged Third World nation. The latter possesses all the potentiality for a generic Third World disaster, for which most commentators on the situation seem to long.

You could argue that the present government in Pretoria is in fact, by most accepted criteria, the best on the continent of Africa. Blacks in large numbers are willingly emigrating to South Africa. No Berlin Wall keeps people from leaving South Africa if they want to do so. But, because of the factor of race, it is South Africa—not Uganda, not Mozambique—that is denounced by Mr. Reagan and even the Pope. Any tyranny, any caste system—even Cambodia's or North Korea's—is apparently more acceptable to our moral custodians than the South African racially based system.

So, that's the way it is. In India, in Latin America, in Asia, race or "ethnicity" is the determining political category. Hitler seems to have won his debased argument.

As we go to press, reports are circulating to the effect that President P. W. Botha is about to come up with a package of reforms that will drastically overhaul the system and allow blacks to share in political power. One prays for an accommodation of some sort, but with little confidence that one is readily attainable. In every polity there must be a final locus of political power. For the white minority to cede that power to the black majority would mean handing over economic power. They then would enjoy the encroaching fate of the whites in Zimbabwe. The circumstances in South Africa are such as permit no solution: because race governs all.

Witness for Peace

Mosquitoes bit; piranhas snapped;
The river banks were poorly mapped,
While all around the weeds and vines
Conspired with unearthly whines
As if to tell this silly group
It sailed without the proper poop.

W. H. VON DREELE

Kennan's Mind

IN THE CURRENT issue of *Policy Review*, Paul Hollander examines the thought of George Kennan. Professor Hollander's latest book, *Political Pilgrims*, traced the odysseys of American intellectuals who became infatuated with the Soviet Union. Hollander's article follows George Kennan's tortuous pilgrimage toward a not dissimilar position.

Kennan, of course, was the author, in his "long telegram" of 1946 and his Mr. X article in *Foreign Affairs* a year later, of the policy of containment. There were problems even with that formulation, as James Burnham and others recognized at the time: Containment was strategically defensive and tactically passive, treating Soviet gains as inviolable and surrendering the initiative to Communism. It was also unduly optimistic, looking forward, in ten or 15 years, to Soviet changes: "The institutions of the police state" will "end up . . . by boring everybody, including those who practice them."

They haven't become bored, of course, and Kennan, rather than junk his theory, has introduced modifications to it. As far as the Soviets are concerned, Kennan, in Hollander's words, now emphasizes "the therapeutic perspective" that "regard[s] insecurity, of an almost pathological kind, as the principal driving force in Soviet politics."

The West, meanwhile, is to blame for not pursuing diplomacy with sufficient ardor. Most recently, Kennan has concluded that we may not be worth saving. Kennan, writes Hollander, "admitted to an alienated sensibility as early as 1951, when he wrote of traveling to the heartland of the country and being repulsed by the dirt, desolation, and ugliness of large Midwestern cities." Over time, the mood has darkened. "I can see very little merit in organizing ourselves to defend from the Russians the porno shops in central Washington," Kennan wrote recently. "I looked at this mob," he wrote on another occasion, apropos of a crowd of Danish hippies, "and thought how one company of robust Russian infantry would drive it out of town."

"In his *Memoirs*," Hollander continues, "Mr. Kennan readily admitted to . . . a 'distaste amounting almost to horror for the chaotic disorder of the American political process.' By contrast, he has developed a grudging respect for the Soviet exercise of authority to deal with social problems. Soviet leaders . . . 'would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have the political authority and the economic controls necessary to enable them to take the practical consequences of their insights.' "

Kennan's view of America and the Soviet Union, Hollander concludes, is not a mirror image. "It is more like a seesaw: As Mr. Kennan's appreciation for American society goes down, his esteem for its adversaries rises."

It is a sad and ironic evolution from the last paragraph of the "long telegram." "We must have courage and self-confidence," Kennan wrote then, "to cling to our own methods and conceptions of human society."

Three Myths about Japan

THEODORE WHITE in "The Danger from Japan" (*The New York Times Magazine*, July 28) writes of a resurgent Japan waging vicious economic warfare on the rest of the world. In ominous tones, White portrays the Japanese as conducting "one of history's most brilliant commercial offensives, as they go about dismantling American industry," and suggests that Japan's spectacular success in export trade calls into question whether or not the United States really won World War II.

While he tries to be fair, White nevertheless makes Japan look like some new kind of enemy power that poses an unprecedented threat to U.S. prosperity—which is how Congress and many U.S. trade unions have come to regard the Land of the Rising Yen. Three prevalent myths about Japan are contributing to a tidal wave of anti-Japanese feeling and protectionist sentiment in America that could eventually prove more dangerous than any number of imported Toyotas and Sony VCRs.

Myth Number One is that Japan's massive trade surplus is the result of protectionist barriers thrown up by Tokyo. In fact, even if Japan slashed its tariffs and dismantled every trace of "non-tariff barriers," it would still run a healthy trade surplus with America. Japan's export success derives largely from a labor force willing to work fifty hours a week at wages far below those paid here. The trade surplus has grown dramatically in the past few years partly for that reason and partly because of the dollar's climb in world currency markets. Neither factor is affected by Japan's import restrictions, which, though not exactly liberal, are no worse than those, say, of France or Brazil.

The second myth is that Japan's productivity derives from a mysterious Oriental ethos, reflected in factory-sponsored group exercises, meditation seminars, what have you. Books abound seeking the inscrutable secret; but in vain. Japan's economic prosperity is the result of a constitutional government and free society imported from America by General MacArthur, to which the Japanese have added the time-honored virtues of hard work, frugality, and sacrifice. Japan's taxation system encourages savings, not consumption; and its government works cooperatively with industry rather than treating it like an enemy best conquered with red tape.

The final myth is that our Japanese problem could be solved by pressuring Japan vastly to increase its defense spending, thus presumably draining its civilian sector of resources while enabling us to stop devoting so much of our own scarce military assets to defending the Pacific. This is, charitably put, balderdash. To begin with, Japan's restraint in defense spending is a consequence of conditions imposed by Washington in 1945 and is the solidest proof of who did win the war. As a geopolitical matter, no U.S. ally in the Far East would welcome a rearmed Japan; hence, the long-term result of Japanese rearmament would probably be to force the U.S. to commit more forces to the Pacific so as to ensure our continuing primacy there. Japan would make a greater contribution to Western security by massively increasing not its army, navy, and air force, but its development assistance to friendly countries in the Far East. Rather than hobgoblinizing Japan, America should try repatriating the formula we exported to Tokyo in 1945.

Horror Stories

HORROR STORIES about defense spending abound. Who has not heard of the $435 claw hammer, the $640 toilet-seat cover, the $659 ashtray, and the $3,046 coffee maker? Forests of newsprint are being felled and thousands of kilowatts of precious energy consumed to vent congressional and media outrage over runaway defense costs. Support for defense spending erodes with each new tale of horror.

With good reason, the horror stories never amount to much more than the name of a commonplace product and a dollar figure. If the stories were told in full, there would not be much horror left. Consider the following epilogues:

It is true that the Defense Department paid $435 for a claw hammer. The error was discovered by a Navy employee, and the contractor refunded the price. Last year the department bought more than eighty thousand hammers at between $6 and $8 each.

The $640 toilet-seat cover was not a toilet-seat cover at all, but a heavy molded plastic cover for the entire toilet system of the P-3 aircraft. The toilet seats themselves cost only $9.37 each. The contractor, moreover, refunded 85 per cent of the cost of the plastic covers when the department stopped the purchase.

Grumman charged the Navy $659 for ashtrays for the E-2C aircraft. Outrageous, except by comparison with ashtray replacements for many automobiles, which often run well over $100 despite being manufactured in vastly larger quantities. Grumman had to custom-make a small number of ashtrays and was los-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing money on the deal at the price charged. The Navy could not make the ashtrays for less than $900 even in its own shops.

Finally there is the much-publicized case of the $3,046 coffee maker. This was for an airplane, the C-5, that can carry up to 365 troops. Delta and TWA buy similar coffee makers for $3,107 each. Scratch one horror story.

Given that the Defense Department each year signs some 13 million contracts with more than 300,000 contractors, it is not unreasonable to suppose that an occasional horror story will turn up despite the best efforts and intentions. The irony is that virtually every case of serious fraud and abuse which the media have gloried in of late has been uncovered by the Defense Department's own Office of the Inspector General. Weinberger is being pilloried for cleaning up an act he inherited.

The real horror story may be what Congress itself has done to the Defense Department. In its zeal to achieve the utopia of an error-free, fraud-free, waste-free defense budget, it has added thousands of laws, procedures, and hurdles to the process of budgeting; it has burdened the Pentagon with literally hundreds of thousands of requests for information; it has mandated layer upon layer of new bureaucracy, overseers, watchdogs, and safeguards for the system. Weapons programs must now run a gauntlet of paperwork so burdensome and devious as to add far more to their cost than is ever saved by the safeguards. If Congress continues its crusade, we can expect that by the year 2000 not a single case of waste, fraud, or abuse will be reported anywhere in the department—and not a single weapon will be procured. Total control resulting in total immobility.

STOP Soviet Investment

CONSERVATIVE students uncomfortable about defending the South African government now have another weapon in the campus disinvestment debate. It amounts to a question: Would student leftists anxious to have their schools disinvest in companies doing business with South Africa also support an effort against companies doing business with the Soviet Union? Save The Oppressed People (STOP) is a committee set up by the Young Conservative Foundation to ask that very question.

This fall STOP expects to launch more than one hundred campaigns aimed at schools' holdings in companies that deal with the Soviets. The group has already gotten attention from school officials and the media. In California, STOP activists staged a sit-in at the office of Assemblyman Tom Hayden, a leader in the South African disinvestment movement. A local paper described the action as "pulling a Hayden on Hayden." Christopher Nicholson, a recent graduate of Loomis-Chaffee, a prestigious Connecticut prep school, has succeeded in forcing the school's trustees to consider the Soviet issue. In Rhode Island, high-school senior Joan McEnery refused to accept a Junior Achievement award when she learned that her sponsor company, Textron, trades with several Eastern-bloc countries. A student in California has turned down scholarship money because he refused to accept "profit from tyranny."

While the philosophical arguments for disinvesting in South Africa and in the Soviet Union are distinct, the gut appeal is the same. Then too, many of the companies that deal with South Africa also deal with the Soviet Union. IBM is a target both of STOP and of those urging disinvestment in South Africa. Ironically, if a school sells its IBM stock because of the protestations of STOP, it will have achieved the goal of the anti-South African protestors as well.

Better No Aid

IT IS just about impossible to blame the starvation and misery of Africa on the evil effects of U.S. domination or multinational capitalism, because the countries that are suffering most are those most cut off from such influences. So instead we hear about the famine and homelessness as if they were some sort of natural disaster that human efforts might relieve but could in no way have prevented. In Latin America,

Renault, *Sacramento Bee* / Rothco

"Happy anniversary, comrades. You may blow out the candles now."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

where there is just enough U.S. business involvement to give the case a specious plausibility, church and relief groups invite us to scrutinize the "structures of suffering"; in Africa, especially where radical regimes are in power, they invite us to think of suffering as if it were as exogenous as Halley's Comet.

In Africa itself, however, there is a growing awareness that the tragedy does have political roots, that the reason Africans live in such dire want is that they live under tyrannies where any production above the subsistence level (and sometimes below) is liable to be confiscated by governments. The influx of foreign aid, far from satisfying the rapacity of governments, has actually inflamed it, according to a long line of observers, most recently Alan Waters, former chief economist of the Agency for International Development, writing in a Heritage Foundation paper. Waters says "aid may be a major culprit contributing to Africa's anguish," adding that "countries which have had foreign aid in the most basic form for an extended period of time have regressed economically more often than they have developed."

Aid programs increase governments' power over their subjects in several ways. Plans for building roads, bridges, and airports are conceived with more than half a mind to the necessities of military transport. Food aid helps to placate restive workers in the capital while destroying markets for rural farmers. Administrative positions in aid projects add to the scarce pool of elite jobs with which governments can buy loyalty.

Until they attain some measure of property rights and the rule of law, African countries are unlikely to climb out of their morass; the problem of tribalism, to take one example, will not go away until the rule of law becomes strong enough that individuals can feel secure from harm without recourse to their tribes. Eventually, Waters says, foreign development aid should cease entirely; in the meantime, it should be channeled to private development efforts and made conditional on government reforms.

Lying in Print

WHEN A MAN describes a book, his description can be checked against the text in question. This elementary observation should have occurred to William J. Broad, a "science reporter for the *New York Times*," when he sat down to review Robert Jastrow's important new book, *How to Make Nuclear Weapons Obsolete*, in the *New York Times Book Review*, July 7.

Mr. Broad writes: "What apparently makes Mr. Jastrow so confident of success is that the system would do so little. Despite his book's title, *How to Make Nuclear Weapons Obsolete*, no technical defense is envisioned that would do so. No shield is proposed that would protect American cities and people from missile attacks . . ."

Here is Robert Jastrow, page 100:

> An advanced defense against Soviet missiles, using exotic technologies such as the laser and the neutral-particle beam, may become a reality by the end of the century. Americans will rest easier when that defense is in place, for it will mean that the prospect of a Soviet first strike is essentially nil.
>
> Meanwhile, the technologies that are already in hand will allow us to put into place, in the early 1990s, a simple but highly effective defense at a cost of roughly $60 billion. A conservative estimate of the effectiveness of this defense is 90 per cent, which means that only one Soviet warhead in ten will reach its target. This is more than sufficient to guarantee devastating U.S. retaliation and discourage Soviet leaders from any thought of achieving a successful strike.
>
> This limited defense will be based on the off-the-shelf technology of the smart bullet. That technology is mature and unexotic, and its deployment around the end of the decade involves no further research, but only a relatively modest degree of engineering development of existing hardware. In fact, it is technically accurate to state that these vital defenses could be in place at this moment if it were not for the constraints accepted by the United States in its adherence to the ABM treaty.

Mr. Broad's review was thus an extraordinary intellectual moment, and Mr. Jastrow can take comfort from the fact that this critic does not address the substance of the case but flatly misrepresents the book.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ AMERICAN SNIVEL LIBERTIES UNION
Busybodies are made, *not* born

Dear Mr. Buckley:

I have come to the reluctant conclusion that we should repeal all but the first five words of the First Amendment.

Yrs,
Eric Olin
Darien, Conn.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Usually I am happy to let Mr. Rickenbacker be the one to quibble with you about points of English in NATIONAL REVIEW, but this time I'd like to tackle one of your constructions myself. "The notion that the more time spent in school automatically meant the greater advance toward social intelligence . . ." Do you recall that from your column of April 1?

Why did it "sound odd" to my ear? I think it's because I detected a false application of an old English idiom, *The sooner the better, The more the merrier,*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

etc. If you put a verb between the two "the more"s you bypass the idiom, de-justify it, so to speak, and write a rough, unpleasing sentence.

For this one time in my writing to you I'd like to invoke the words of the greatest of modern grammarians of English, Otto Jespersen, and his great work, *A Modern English Grammar*, Volume VII. He says, "The use of articles presents a great many intricate problems: idiomatic usage frequently runs counter to logic or fixed rules." That must not be taken to say that *anything* can be justified by calling it an idiom, but it does prepare the reader for Section 14.6, "*the* before comparatives": "*The* is frequently found in connection with the comparative: Sometimes there are two *the's*, which in origin are different, one being a development of *thý*, the OE instrumental of *that*, thus meaning 'by how much,' while the other originates from [in?] the relative *the*. Neither is a development of the old definite article."

There follow many examples, none of which interposes a verb between the parts, as you do with "meant." Therefore I suggest that the second "the" should be "a." Your ear will have to guide you, or you can speak to Mr. Rickenbacker about it, or you can read William Gass's essay, "Representation and the War for Reality," in which he speaks of the "aesthetic grammar of the language."

Sincerely,
Bert Lippman
Coram, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Lippman: You are absolutely right. The sentence should have read, "The notion that more time spent in school automatically meant greater advance toward social intelligence . . ." And while at it, you'd do better still if you hyphenated more-time, and greater-advance. Thanks, WFB

☐ Memo to: Bill
From: Priscilla

Did you see the attached?

[*Editorial paragraph,* The New Republic, *July 29.*]

"RIGHT TURN, WRONG TURN: Last week we inexplicably identified one of our regular contributors, William Schneider, as a writer for NATIONAL REVIEW. This is a sign not of growing conservatism but of typographical oversight. Schneider has never and (he assures us) will never write for NATIONAL REVIEW. . . ."

Pitts: There are two William Schneiders who write. We publish the bright one. Who by the way is these days an Under Secretary of State. Bill

☐ Dear Bill:
In re your lead-off paragraph in "The Week" (May 3, 1985)—"Teddy Kennedy has lost weight. The Republic is in danger." Shakespeare's Julius Caesar agreed when he said: "Let me have men about me who are fat . . . Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look. He thinks too much. Such men are dangerous." Of course, he didn't last much longer after that.

Yours,
Arthur A. Tiller
Greendale, Wisc.

☐ Memo to: WFB
From: Linda
Re: Awful erratum

Father Stanley Jaki's fine essay in the last issue was printed with half of one sentence missing, a piece of type having detached itself from the page in transit to our printing plant. On page 43, at the bottom of the first column, the sentence following the indented quotation should begin: "This statement of Buridan's, which is equivalent to Newton's first law of motion . . ."

☐ Wm—
The enclosed editorial ("No-Class Mario") contains an amazing exchange between NH Representative Gregg and the odious unctuous vituperative rabble-cooking villainous hate-mongering sanctimonious pseudo-sophistical satanic bellowing barbarous pandering lizard-eyed
M*A*R*I*O C*U*O*M*O
than whom, etc.

I hadn't seen Mario's hideous side laid bare until this quote popped up, and I haven't seen this quote anywhere but here. Maybe you can use it. It should certainly be hung around his neck for the duration, thinkeenot?

Wm [F. Rickenbacker]

[*From an editorial in the* Manchester Union Leader.]

"After setting forth his quaint definition of federalism, which sounded rather like a defense of freeloading, [Cuomo] almost came out of his chair as he rasped:

" 'If the people of New Hampshire want a different union that says we want only what we raise ourselves and spend, terrific, then you should secede. I am not going to New Hampshire.'

"And what was the . . . question relating to the Reagan proposal to eliminate the deduction for state and local taxes that caused this intemperate outburst? Why, it was simply this: 'Why should New Hampshire taxpayers be forced to subsidize the high-tax policies of your state?' "

Wm, You demonstrate the case for a revival of realism in art. Cordially, Wm
—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

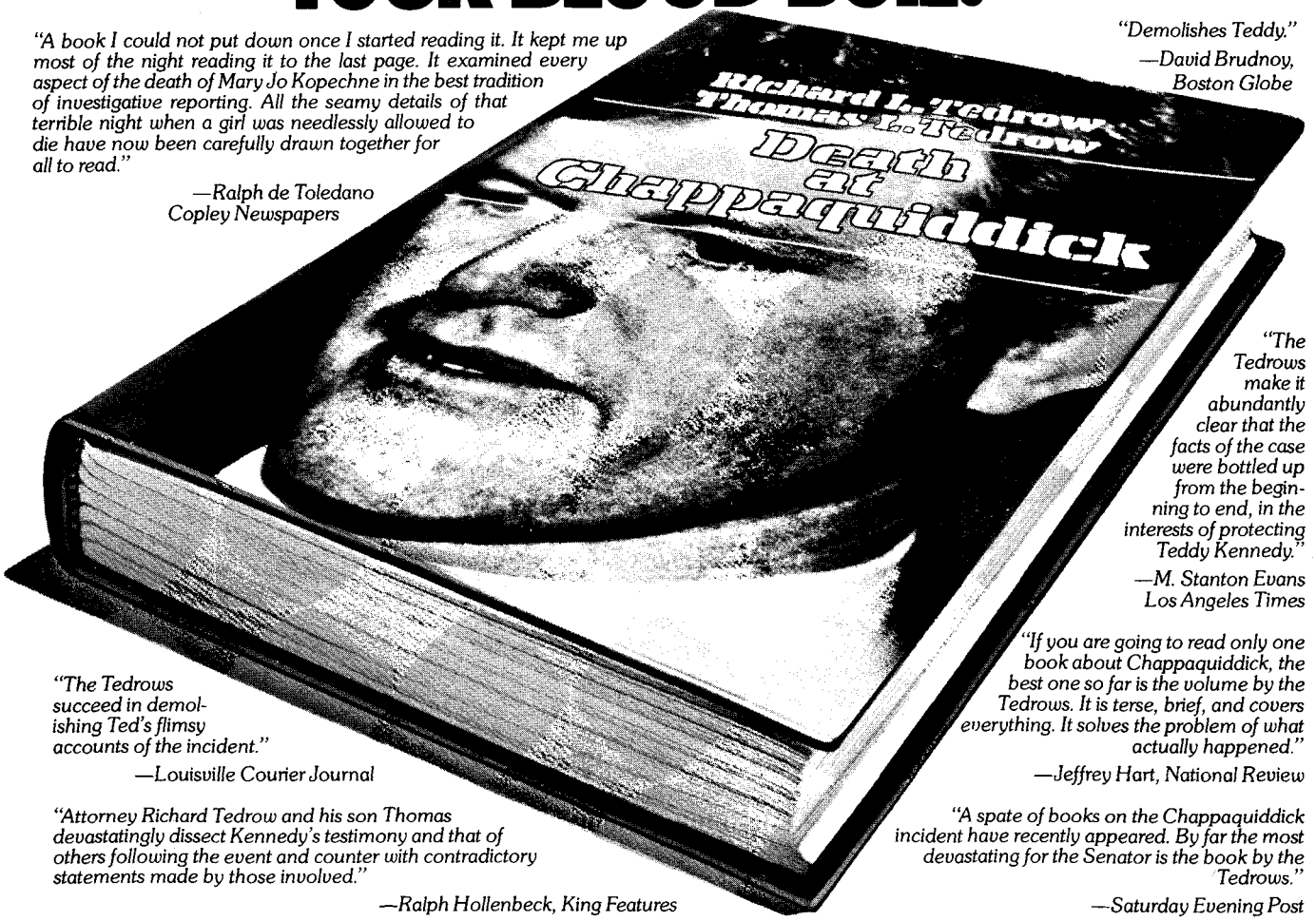
EVERY YEAR OR SO IT DOES YOU GOOD TO READ SOMETHING THAT WILL MAKE YOUR BLOOD BOIL.

"A book I could not put down once I started reading it. It kept me up most of the night reading it to the last page. It examined every aspect of the death of Mary Jo Kopechne in the best tradition of investigative reporting. All the seamy details of that terrible night when a girl was needlessly allowed to die have now been carefully drawn together for all to read."

—Ralph de Toledano
Copley Newspapers

"Demolishes Teddy."

—David Brudnoy,
Boston Globe



"The Tedrows make it abundantly clear that the facts of the case were bottled up from the beginning to end, in the interests of protecting Teddy Kennedy."

—M. Stanton Evans
Los Angeles Times

"The Tedrows succeed in demolishing Ted's flimsy accounts of the incident."

—Louisville Courier Journal

"If you are going to read only one book about Chappaquiddick, the best one so far is the volume by the Tedrows. It is terse, brief, and covers everything. It solves the problem of what actually happened."

—Jeffrey Hart, National Review

"Attorney Richard Tedrow and his son Thomas devastatingly dissect Kennedy's testimony and that of others following the event and counter with contradictory statements made by those involved."

—Ralph Hollenbeck, King Features

"A spate of books on the Chappaquiddick incident have recently appeared. By far the most devastating for the Senator is the book by the Tedrows."

—Saturday Evening Post

THIS WILL DO IT.

Ads to sell books are supposed to go into enormous detail, lavish praise, long descriptions. We'll merely say that Thomas and Richard Tedrow have done an exhaustive job of research, their book is well written, carefully presented, and what you've suspected all along is true. *The 220 pages contain facts never before disclosed.* It's a book you *must* have on your own bookshelf, preferably toward the front.

We don't, of course, expect you to take our word for that. You're invited to examine "Death at Chappaquiddick" for 10 days on an absolute, no-strings-attached money-back guarantee. If you decide the book is not an *invaluable investment,* just return it within the 10 days, and we'll refund your $9.95 in full, no questions asked.

P.S. Mary Jo Kopechne did not die from drowning.

NRXDAC1

To: Green Hill Publishers, Inc.
P.O. Box 738, Ottawa, Illinois 61350

Yes. Send me the hard-cover *Death at Chappaquiddick* for 10-day examination. Check or Money Order for $9.95 plus 95¢ postage and handling is enclosed.

Illinois residents add 5% state sales tax

Charge to ☐ Mastercharge ☐ BankAmericard

Account no. _____ Expiration date _____

name _____

address _____

city _____ state _____ zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REMEMBER HOWARD?

SINCE LEAVING the Senate in January, Howard Baker has been decompressing at the Washington office of Vinson & Elkins, where his salary this year will hit seven figures. Baker quit the Senate to seek the Presidency, and is confident he made the right choice. "Had I resigned in '79," Baker told me, "I could have been nominated. You cannot run for President and do anything else."

Eighteen years in the Senate (including four as Minority Leader, four as Majority Leader) have seasoned the 59-year-old Tennessee Republican. Although he is a trifle pudgy in frame (he flares if twitted about this), his mind is lean and his spirit relaxed. There is scarcely a public-policy issue that he cannot speak to, whether domestic or foreign, drawing on his vast knowledge and experience. But, in another sense, the 18 years have taken their toll. Baker has the "senatorial mindset": that deal-making folksiness that is great in an arbitrator, but deadly in a leader. The hard edge is not yet there, nor the when-to-polarize instinct. But that may be changing.

Recently, for example, Baker tried a high-risk (maybe kamikaze—witness Mondale) tactic, namely, calling for a tax increase to cut the mushrooming federal debt by a system of dedicated revenue. Reaganomics, according to Baker, is "a riverboat gamble"—sometimes you win and sometimes you lose. The President won when he lowered interest rates, unemployment, and inflation. "He won by stimulating the economy and securing strong growth." But Reagan also lost a few, Baker insists, notably the deficit, which will "devour" us unless we cut it through taxes, whether the $5-per-barrel fee on imported oil, or an income surtax. What about cutting spending? I asked. "Sharper cuts in spending, yes," said Baker, but, practically speaking, spending cuts can't do it alone. "All ways are needed," he emphasized, "and we have to figure out some way to dedicate revenue both to servicing the national debt, and payment on it."

Baker's concern about the national debt is warranted. In 1984, when he was still Majority Leader, the Senate deadlocked for more than a week over a hike in the debt ceiling required before Congress adjourned. The measure was defeated, and Baker had to put the government on a cash basis temporarily, while he sent Air Force jets to fetch senators who had already left Washington. "Every year it becomes more likely that the Senate will simply not increase the debt limit." This fall Baker sees a traumatic vote looming, when the Senate, with its large complement of Republicans who are vexed with the President, must vote on whether to jack up the debt ceiling to over $2 trillion.

Baker calls for "institutional changes" to make it "less convenient" for Congress to spend so profligately, including a balanced-budget amendment. On tax reform, Baker believes "something will pass" but "not in the form submitted, nor anything close to it." He sees Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, as fashioning the final version of the tax package. Like Mario Cuomo, Baker believes that state- and local-tax deductibility should be preserved. "I'm the man who gave you general revenue sharing, remember," he says with a smile. "I believe in strengthening local governments." Baker also wants a gentler approach to business than that prescribed by the revised depreciation schedule of Treasury II. "I worry about changing the rules in the middle of the game," says Baker, calling as a minimum for a "generous period of transition" if the depreciation schedule is altered.

Baker is a genial raconteur, skilled in political conversation. One popular Washington game is to see how adroitly he eludes comparisons between his Senate leadership and that of his successor, the sleek and sharp Bob Dole. Baker rejects the coarser entrapments ("I want to help Bob, not hurt him, and a comparison never profits the man in power") but yields on one or two subtler points. Baker allows, for example, that he was a flag-carrier for the President, whereas Dole carries the flag for his fellow senators. But Baker the lawyer is quick to argue that both styles can be right. When he was Majority Leader, Reagan was at the peak of his power, "a brand-new President, with a brand-new agenda, and a brand-new majority of Republicans in the Senate for the first time in 26 years." Dole, however, is running the Senate under a lame-duck President.

BAKER THINKS Teddy will get the Democratic nomination in 1988. "The Democrats will not have their act together by then, and they'll say, 'What the hell, let's give Teddy his chance.'" On Kemp: "A bright young man who thinks that we're going to grow our way out of the deficit. I think the situation is different." Bush: "He'll have Hubert Humphrey's problem, how to distinguish his positions from those of the President whom he serves, plus the same difficulty I had in 1980, namely a job, whereas I'll be unemployed."

Can Howard Baker surmount the suspicions and the biases of a hard Right that has never forgiven him for his 1978 Panama Canal stance and his alleged contribution to Nixon's collapse? Defending his conservatism, Baker points to his Senate leadership record: "I was able to lead the Senate with Republicans and Democrats and hold them together." He might also point to his voting record: Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) assigns Howard Baker an overall 18-year Senate career rating of 14 per cent. Not bad for a so-called "moderate." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"With the debate raging over "Star Wars," it is a relief that a distinguished scientist has now explained the subject in a book that is brief, lucid and comprehensible."

—*The Wall Street Journal*

How To Make Nuclear Weapons Obsolete

By ROBERT JASTROW

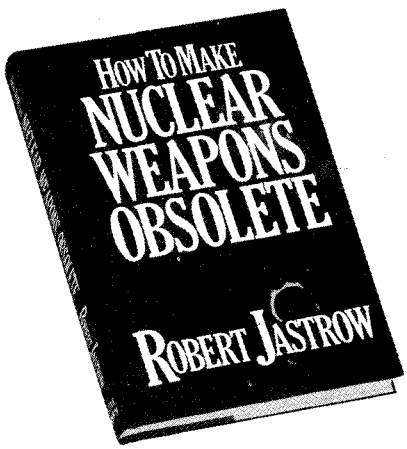
Founder of NASA's Institute for Space Studies and First Chairman of the NASA Lunar Exploration Committee

"Advances in modern science give us a non-nuclear defense against missiles," says Robert Jastrow in *How to Make Nuclear Weapons Obsolete.* "No development could be more favorable to the cause of ending the nuclear arms race. If both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. have an effective defense against missiles, both nations must then recognize the futility of a continued competition in building weapons of mass destruction."

Renowned for his ability to make the most complex scientific matters understandable to a lay audience, Dr. Jastrow explains what Star Wars is, how it works, and how it can protect the world from the nuclear menace.

"Robert Jastrow may have written the most important book of the twentieth century."

—Jeffrey Hart, *Human Events*



AT YOUR BOOKSTORE, OR USE THIS COUPON

MODERN SCIENCE LIBRARY
P.O. Box 1168, White River Junction, VT 05001

Please send me ___ copies of *How to Make Nuclear Weapons Obsolete* at $15.95 per copy. Enclosed is my check for $_____ or please charge my
☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

No._____ Exp. date_____

Signature_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Vermont residents please add 4% sales tax. **NLRJAS1**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FOREST AND THE TREES

THERE ARE advantages as well as disadvantages in being away from one's office, and I am going to try to put my current isolation in a small town on the South Coast of England to constructive use in respect of the complex, dangerous, highly emotive, yet in some respects rather encouraging situation in southern Africa. I shall try, in fact, to look at the forest rather than the trees.

The "trees," to pursue the metaphor, are: South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe; the "forest" is the vast and mineral-rich geographical region known as southern Africa. I am aware of next to no evidence to suggest that Western chancelleries are taking a strategic view of the region as a whole. Instead, they seem to be looking at each country piecemeal, indulging in a series of actions or initiatives or responses that are sometimes mutually incompatible and never strategically coherent.

Let me, then, suggest some appropriate strategic objectives for the West. The prime objective is simple: the emergence of the whole of southern Africa as an area freed from Soviet power and even influence, with improving chances of overall prosperity. The strategic advantages of such a situation would be enormous and would extend well beyond the region itself, for it would imply lasting security for the sea lanes of the south Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

In my view, this situation is achievable, but only on condition that the U.S., along with Britain and the other Allies, not allow themselves to be diverted from it by relatively minor considerations.

When I said, above, that in some respects the current situation is "rather encouraging," I had in mind principally the fact that in comparison with some years ago, the Soviet grip on the region is markedly weaker today. In Angola, that extraordinarily impressive black leader, Jonas Savimbi, is now in a position of commanding power. The Soviet-supported MPLA government in Luanda is in disarray. Without the large Cuban contingent, it would collapse.

In Mozambique, the corresponding Soviet-supported Frelimo regime, under Samora Machel, is even weaker. In the region as a whole the Leninist doctrine of the inevitability of Communist advance is under serious, perhaps mortal, threat.

The most important event of recent times, in this context, is Congress's repeal—at last—of the absurd Clark Amendment, which has made American support of the anti-Communist forces in Angola (but not elsewhere) *illegal*. There is now no reason, other than misjudgment, diplomatic expediency, or pusillanimity, why the U.S. should not aid Savimbi on a substantial scale, so that he is no longer dependent on the increasingly ostracized government of Pieter Botha in Pretoria.

YET IN THIS fundamentally encouraging situation, what are the Western governments doing? In Angola/Namibia, Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker seems more interested in trying to implement UN Resolution 435 and allow Namibians to vote for independence than in helping Savimbi to rid Angola of the Soviet/Cuban/East German connection. (Let us remember that Resolution 435 rests on the *a priori* assumption by the egregious UN General Assembly that SWAPO, a Soviet-backed terrorist group, is the sole representative of the Namibian people.)

In South Africa, the collective Western attitude is blinded by irrational emotion and irrelevant guilt. The Botha government has moved faster toward dismantling apartheid over the past few years than previous governments had over decades. It has recognized black trade unions, repealed the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts, granted freehold in black townships, ended "whites only" job reservation, and established representative institutions for the Indian and colored communities. Its reward is that these extraordinary changes are denounced as "cosmetic."

As Alexis de Tocqueville noted, change accelerates the demand for more change. In the black townships, blacks are on the rampage, not against the whites but against blacks who collaborate with the regime. The Botha government reacts, as any government in such a situation would, by proclaiming a state of emergency; and is promptly denounced by the EEC foreign ministers, who call on Botha to end the state of emergency. In America, Congress waxes indignant and decrees economic sanctions.

In Mozambique, instead of aiding the Renamo resistance, which has brought the Machel regime to its knees, Britain starts training Machel's forces, and the U.S. offers economic aid. In Zimbabwe, the great errors were committed six years ago, and a one-party state looms ahead.

Let us now consider the consequences of current Western policies, if unchecked and unreversed:

—In Namibia, the emergence, gratis, of a Soviet client state, with the Cubans still in Angola and the harbor of Walvis Bay (a South African enclave) as an attainable prize.

—Violence, to the point of a bloodbath, in South Africa, to the benefit of the Communist-controlled African National Congress.

—In the further future, if the "disinvestors" have their way, the ruination of the one major source of economic prosperity in the region, with African-model chaos to follow.

—In Mozambique, the loss of a great opportunity to encourage the emergence of a pro-Western state.

Can we not do better than that? □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

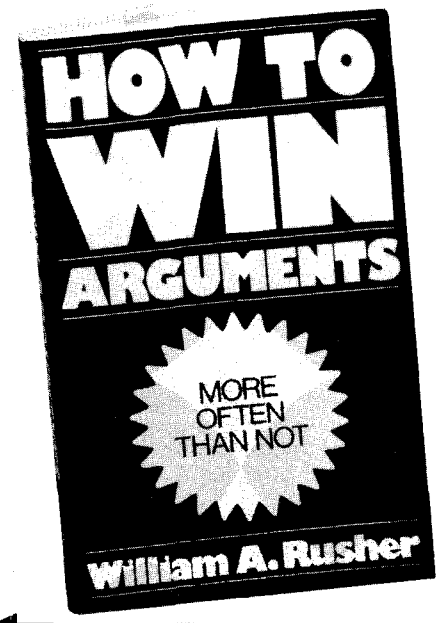
If you have ever come away from an argument feeling frustrated,

THIS IS THE BOOK FOR YOU!

Bill Rusher's act of treachery—giving away the house secrets—may make him rich and famous. At home, we will treat him like the Rosenbergs.

—WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

GET IT FREE!



To get this valuable book fill out and mail the card opposite this page today!

Like it or not, you always find yourself getting into discussions and arguments; it seems impossible to avoid nowadays. Don't you really owe it to yourself to learn how to handle such situations—how to argue *and win*?

Sound difficult? Not when you have *How to Win Arguments* handy. This practical and highly entertaining book is by William A. Rusher (*National Review*'s publisher). Rusher, a professional arguer *par excellence*, is eminently qualified to show *you* how to do it well.

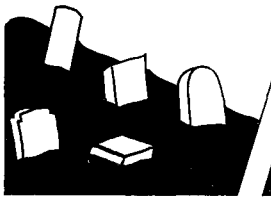
You've probably seen him in action on TV's *The Advocates*, *Good Morning America*, *Viewpoint*, or other shows, and marveled at his effectiveness. No one seems able to put him down. At the very least, he's going to give as good as he gets even when defending positions popularly assumed to be indefensible. Now, in *How to Win Arguments*, Rusher lets you in on the trade secrets and shows you how to acquire the skills and techniques necessary to hold your own in any argument or discussion.

This is not a treatise full of technical jargon—it's an enjoyable, informal guide to clear thinking. It covers all the basics from how to prepare for an argument and how to handle yourself under fire to how to allow for individual strengths and styles. There's even a fascinating chapter filled with advice from other expert debaters such as William F. Buckley, Jr., Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Phyllis Schlafly. As the book jacket says, it is indeed an ". . . entertaining and comprehensive guide to the techniques, rhetorical devices, and principles of successful argumentation." No argument there.

Right now, with this special offer, you have the opportunity to get this valuable book (a $9.75 retail value) absolutely FREE and postpaid. All you have to do is enter a subscription to *National Review* (or renew your current one, no matter when it expires) for one year at the regular $34 rate. Simply check your instructions on the handy card opposite and return it to us today. We'll send you your FREE copy of *How to Win Arguments* as fast as we can, and you'll start receiving NR hot off the press too. Offer is limited, so please act now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AN AMERICAN TRADITION /
JAMES RING ADAMS



IS THE TAX REVOLT DEAD?

Is the Tax Revolt dead? Those who would like to think so can point to recent public-opinion polls showing that support for federal tax reform has dropped below 30 per cent. Or they could point out that in the 1984 elections nearly all the major state initiatives to curb taxes, including those on the ballot in California, Oregon, Michigan, and Nevada, failed. The only successful referendum for spending reduction came in Guam, and it was later invalidated on a technicality. Moreover, pro-tax interests within government have been playing hardball with tax-cutters and getting away with it, as witness Michigan Governor James Blanchard's no-holds-barred fight against the Voters' Choice amendment and the Florida State Supreme Court's decision to knock off the ballot a draconian spending limit that seemed to be going strong.

The recent record may give heart to the high-tax interests, particularly those who want to keep the federal tax structure as it is. But if so, the advocates of the Washington status quo are fooling themselves again as they have fooled themselves repeatedly in recent years. Populist rebellions such as California's Proposition 13 may no longer be the favorite tactic, but there is still something pretty big coming down the tracks. The Tax Revolt may not have shown up in dramatic state initiatives in 1984, but it exerted influence where it counted most, in the election of candidates. The central role of tax cuts in Ronald Reagan's re-election is undeniable. And wherever the tax issue loomed large in state politics it proved capable of producing striking upheavals.

Connecticut heard Democrats renew their call for a full-fledged state income tax and responded by replacing 23 Democratic state representatives with Republicans. Minnesota, Walter Mondale's home state, gave the Independent Republicans control of the state House of Representatives for the first time in 14 years, turning out 11 Democratic-Farmer-Labor incumbents, largely because the Independent Republicans promised a $1-billion tax cut for 1985-86. The state of Washington elected a new Democratic governor and a Democratic house, partly because the liberal Republican incumbent had broken his 1980 pledge not to raise the sales tax.

Puzzling over this contrast between national success and local failure, columnist Neal R. Pierce asked about the anti-tax initiatives, "If these types of measures can't pass in the midst of a Reagan landslide, with the conservative movement reaching a historic high, when will they?" Pierce is one of the few writers regularly to mine the riches of state and local government, but he missed the simple answer. These measures will pass when they are needed—when elected officials are *not* responding to the popular demand for tax restraint. With Ronald Reagan, a reasonably successful tax-cutter, at the head of the ticket, and a host of state and local candidates pledging fiscal restraint, the voters showed themselves inclined to give representative government another chance.

At the state level, the electorate can claim that its moderation has so far been vindicated. State after state has been pushing through its own version of the Bradley, Gephardt, Kemp, or Reagan plans. The momentum is strongest in those states bearing the highest tax burdens or recently threatened by the Tax Revolt. Liberal states—including Wisconsin, the first to adopt the progressive income tax—are turning their backs on income redistribution. The income tax is the favorite target for cutting, and more often than not the cuts are coming in the top brackets.

Consider once more the case of Mondale's Minnesota. The state's political pendulum has been swinging wildly since 1978, when the voters drove Hubert Humphrey's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party (DFL) from the statehouse. Independent Republican governor Al Quie, formerly a highly respected congressman, made a promising start. He indexed the income tax and for a time drove down the tax burden. Then, during the devastating 1980-82 recession, Minnesota's budget veered into deficit. Indexing was toned down, but was not abandoned, contrary to the impression promoted by Eastern pro-spending journalists. Quie approved one income-tax surcharge. The DFL recaptured the governorship, but passed yet another surtax. During the recession, the increase in Minnesota's state-tax burden was one of the most rapid in the country: From tenth in per-capita tax burden in 1981, it had soared to fifth by 1983.

On November 6, 1984, the same day the Tax Revolt initiatives took such a beating, the voters of Minnesota once more turned against the DFL. With a 22-seat switch in the house, the Independent Republicans took control for the first time since 1970. (The governor and the state senate were not on the ballot.) The highest political priority in the state became income-tax reduction. DFL governor Rudy Perpich, who replaced Quie in 1982, proposed a

Mr. Adams, a member of the Wall Street Journal*'s editorial board and author of* Secrets of the Tax Revolt, *holds a PhD in history from Cornell University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$604-million cut over the coming biennium, lowering the top rate from 16 per cent to 7.7 per cent. The legislature increased the cuts to $1 billion.

In many respects, Minnesota is typical: The drive for lower levies may touch 14 states this year, and 12 states reduced taxation in 1984. And this trend goes all the way back to the late 1970s. The high point for state and local tax burdens came in 1972, at a level of 11.2 per cent of total personal income. A sharp break in spending growth came around 1976 for cities and around 1978 for states. The 1983 tax burden stood at 10.4 per cent. One of the best data-keepers for the state and local scene, the moderate Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, calls this period "the Great Turnaround," and it deserves that name. Statistics may be dry most of the time, but not when they cut to the heart of an historic shift in the national mood. The chronology shows that even California's landmark Proposition 13 fits a larger pattern of disillusionment with government spending.

The staying power of the Tax Revolt may disappoint some, but a protracted revolt would fit into a venerable historical pattern. We are in the midst of a perennial phenomenon in American politics. Periods of rapidly rising tax burdens, such as the 1960s and 1970s, provoke reactions against government spending that tend to endure for a generation.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, state budgets surged in the North as well as in the South. Reconstruction in the South has become a stereotype for the politics of race. According to one view, popular with an older generation, political opportunists (Northern and Southern alike) bought the allegiance of the newly freed blacks with expanded state services financed by confiscatory taxes on secessionist landowners. A more recent view considers much of the increased spending inevitable for the rebuilding of the shattered Southern infrastructure; it holds that one of the main Reconstruction efforts, free public schools, could have greatly helped the whole region.

Both these perspectives tend to ignore taxing as an issue in its own right. The eventual reaction against Reconstruction tax bills cut across political lines and even transcended questions of race. In Texas, for instance, all the previous Republican governors and leaders of two bitterly opposed Republican Party factions joined in the 1872 Tax-Payers Convention in order to mount a protest against the incumbent. In New Orleans the business community felt so oppressed by the tax burden that it tried to form a political coalition—led by the Confederate war hero General P. T. Beauregard—with leaders of the local black middle class. As Reconstruction collapsed, an amazing number of Southern constitutional conventions wrote tax and spending limits into their new fundamental law. The same thing was happening in the North, where delayed war costs such as veterans' bonus bonds were beginning to bite. The Texas scholar John Walker Mauer cites instances in which delegates to the Southern conventions patterned their proposals on limits previously adopted by Pennsylvania and Illinois. These constitutional restrictions cropped up throughout the country for a decade.

Nor was this period the first in which voters tried to shackle their legislatures. In the 1830s, following the success of the Erie Canal, state governments plunged headlong into financing internal improvements, such as canals and railroads, with few thoughts about economic viability. When the crash came at the end of the decade, several states defaulted on their debts, permanently blackening their names with their British creditors. Wordsworth wrote an angry sonnet denouncing the state of Pennsylvania, and the European market remained closed to American state bonds for a century and a half, accepting its first "Euro-municipal" issue just over a year ago. Many more states honored their debts, but at the expense of a sharp rise in taxes. The rapid economic growth that had enabled states such as New York to eliminate direct taxation entirely came to an abrupt end.

Voters in many states reacted to the tax hikes by stripping their legislatures of the power to contract debts. Provisions requiring all future bond issues to be approved by voters in a special election, or even prohibiting state debt outright, appeared in almost all the state constitutions adopted prior to the Civil War. Although bond referenda are now a commonplace phenomenon in public finance,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From beginning to end, the Tax Revolt must be understood as an expression of Jacksonian Democracy

they were a radical idea at the time, denounced by Whigs as a threat to representative government. Supporters of the debt limits countered that oppressive taxation was the real evil, and that they were trying to close a loophole that could become the fatal flaw of elected legislatures. After all, by issuing bonds, legislators could commit the public treasury to high expenses in the future without having to raise taxes during their own terms of office.

When we look at the back-country lawyers and legislators who developed the bond referendum, we begin to glimpse some of the deeper meaning of the Tax Revolt. These men, obscure figures like Michael Hoffman and Arphaxed Loomis of Herkimer, New York, constituted the political core of Andrew Jackson's national support. The pattern shows up from coast to coast in the political biographies of Old Hickory's personal protégés, men like California's William Gwin, who put the debt limits in the Golden State's first constitution, and Sam Houston of Texas, who attempted to sell off the Lone Star navy in order to cut taxes. From beginning to end, the Tax Revolt must be understood as an expression of Jacksonian Democracy.

The history of the Tax Revolt and the history of Jacksonian Democracy illuminate each other, for they spring from the same outlook on government and, to a certain extent, even from the same political economy. A generation of New Deal historians, led by Arthur Schlesinger Jr., has tried to obscure the fact, but Jackson and his men believed firmly in limited government, hard money, and a laissez-faire economy. We all heard in school about their attacks on corporate privilege. We were less likely to be told of the reasons for their attack: At that time, corporate charters were semi-feudal legislative grants to favored parties. They limited entry into the market and stifled competition. The Jacksonian free-market remedy was a universal incorporation law, granting charters to all who met certain minimum requirements. Radicals of the day went even further than our own capitalists do, allowing automatic incorporation of banks, for instance, and depending on the market to separate the sound from the shaky.

This economic point of view extended to taxation. In his Farewell Address, President Jackson warned his fellow citizens: "Congress has no right, under the Constitution, to take money from the people unless it is required to execute some one of the specific powers entrusted to the government; and if they raise more than is necessary for such purposes, it is an abuse of the power of taxation and unjust and oppressive." General Jackson, Martin Van Buren, and their followers firmly believed that high taxation stifled initiative and caused economic stagnation. (Jackson had refused, by the way, to get the Federal Government involved in the canals-and-railroads spending binge in the 1830s.)

The Jacksonians could justifiably claim to be emulating their hero, Thomas Jefferson, the most successful tax-cutter in American history. Jefferson all but eliminated domestic taxation in his first term and showed a budget surplus when trade (and customs duties) exceeded all expectations. A British diplomat called Jefferson's promise of tax reduction "the great instrument" of his 1800 campaign. Moreover, in his first Annual Message, Jefferson said (unfortunately in unusually involuted prose), "It behooves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the surcharge, that it never may be seen here that after leaving to labor the smallest portion of its earning on which it can subsist, government shall itself consume the whole residue of what it was constituted to guard."

Untangled, the rhetoric is similar to that of today's supply-siders. That is no accident. The great intellectual mentor of the Jacksonians was Adam Smith, sometimes as "updated" by Jean-Baptiste Say, whose work was widely studied in American colleges in those days. Smith was a special favorite of William Gouge, the principal propagandist of Jackson's campaign against the Bank of the United States. The supply-side arguments of Arthur Laffer, Jude Wanniski, and Paul Craig Roberts are quite explicitly repackaged versions of Adam Smith, and they obviously derive to a great extent from Say. Small wonder that echoes—or anticipations—of supply-side economics resound through centuries of federal and state fiscal debates.

But the tradition of Adam Smith has even deeper roots in American history. *The Wealth of Nations* and the Declaration of Independence both appeared in 1776. On the theoretical and the political levels, both were the culmination of ideas originated by John Locke, who is in a unique way America's Philosopher King.

Of course, Locke is not America's only guiding spirit. He ran counter to, and was originally resisted by, the earlier Puritan tradition. Indeed the tension between the two explains a great deal about the American soul. Max Weber's "Protestant ethic" notwithstanding, the original Puritans harbored deep suspicions of the marketplace. Almost their first legislation in the New World imposed wage and price controls, and a merchant who overcharged for nails found himself ostracized for his greed. Inevitably, these suspicions extended to Locke himself. In 1715, a Yale student wrote that his classmates had heard "of a new philosophy that of late was all in vogue and of such names as Descartes, Boyle, Locke, and Newton, but they were cautioned against thinking of them because the new philosophy, it was said, would soon bring in a new divinity and corrupt the pure religion of the country." Although Puritan thinkers later reached an accommodation with Locke, they also kept alive a communal spirit of government at odds with Locke's advocacy of a limited state. Tocqueville marveled at the extent of the social legislation he found among the Puritans. "The ideas there formed of the duties of society toward its members are evidently much loftier and more comprehensive than those of European legislators at that time," he wrote in *Democracy in America*.

This spirit had its deepest impact on public education. From 1647, the Puritans ordered localities to establish tax-supported public schools to frustrate "one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures." The Puritans' offspring who migrated →

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For Business, Doctor's and Home Phones

10 Ways Moog's Advanced Model Phone Controller Can Increase the Service You Get From Your Phone, Speed Your Calls and Lower Your Charges.

A high-tech advance by Moog, who invented the Electronic Music Synthesizer

This small electronic marvel—only 8" by 6" by 1½"—lets you do things with your telephone you never thought possible. Read these 10 ways Moog's new Phone Controller outdates old-fashioned telephoning—

1. One Touch "Memory" Dialing. Get at the touch of a finger 30 numbers called most frequently. Real time saver.

2. Time-Saving Callback. Busy signal? Phone Controller calls back for you every 60 seconds, up to 14 times. Keeps you from forgetting to.

3. Digital Time Monitor. Alerts you to minutes you are talking, long distance or locally. Keeps 5 minute calls from going to a half-hour.

4. Touch Dial Converter. Lets you call by touch on rotary dial phone.

5. Works with MCI, Sprint, SBS. Discount long-distance services work faster, cheaper without installation extras.

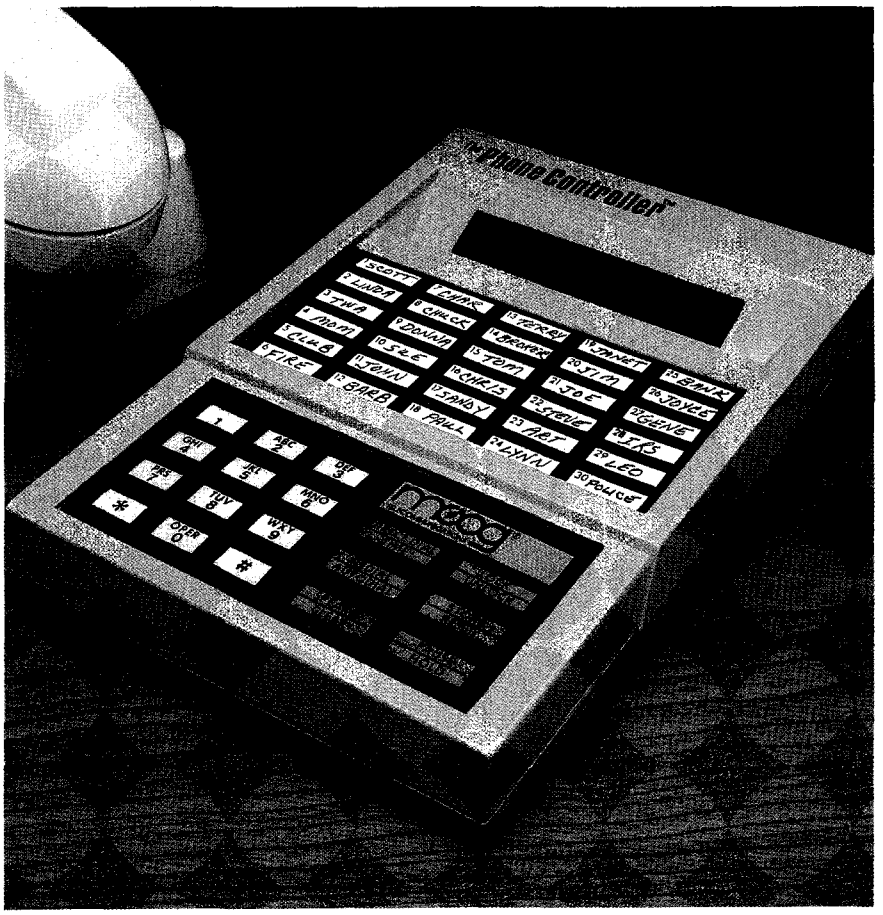
6. Hold Button. Puts callers on hold so you can talk with others around you. More secure than hand over mouthpiece.

7. Built-In Audio Speaker. Call without having to hold handset until someone answers. Lets others hear too.

8. Eliminates Phone Use. No need to dial from phone. Touch-dial directly from dial pad of Phone Controller.

9. Fail-Safe Memory. Back-up battery power keeps programming intact and in place for most power outages.

10. Error Eraser. Dial a single wrong number, no need to redial whole number. Push clear button, error is erased.



Satisfaction Guaranteed.

For single-line service, simply plug into any modular jack. For service with multi-lines, specify Model ML. Customers also get toll-free advice if needed.

All Phone Controllers have 1 year parts and labor warranty and are UL and FCC approved. Prompt service if needed. If you are not fully satisfied, return unit in original condition and packages within 10 days of receipt, and your money will be refunded.

Pleasantville Plan, 62 Eastview, Pleasantville, N.Y. 10570

Dept. MC 6

Please send ( ) Moog's Phone Controller(s) at cost per instrument of $99.95 single line, $119.95 multi-line (Model ML.)
I enclose check ( ) Money order ( ) in amount of $_____. Or charge my AMEX ( ) MASTERCARD ( ) VISA ( ) credit card no. _____
expiring _____. N.Y. residents add sales tax.

Name _____

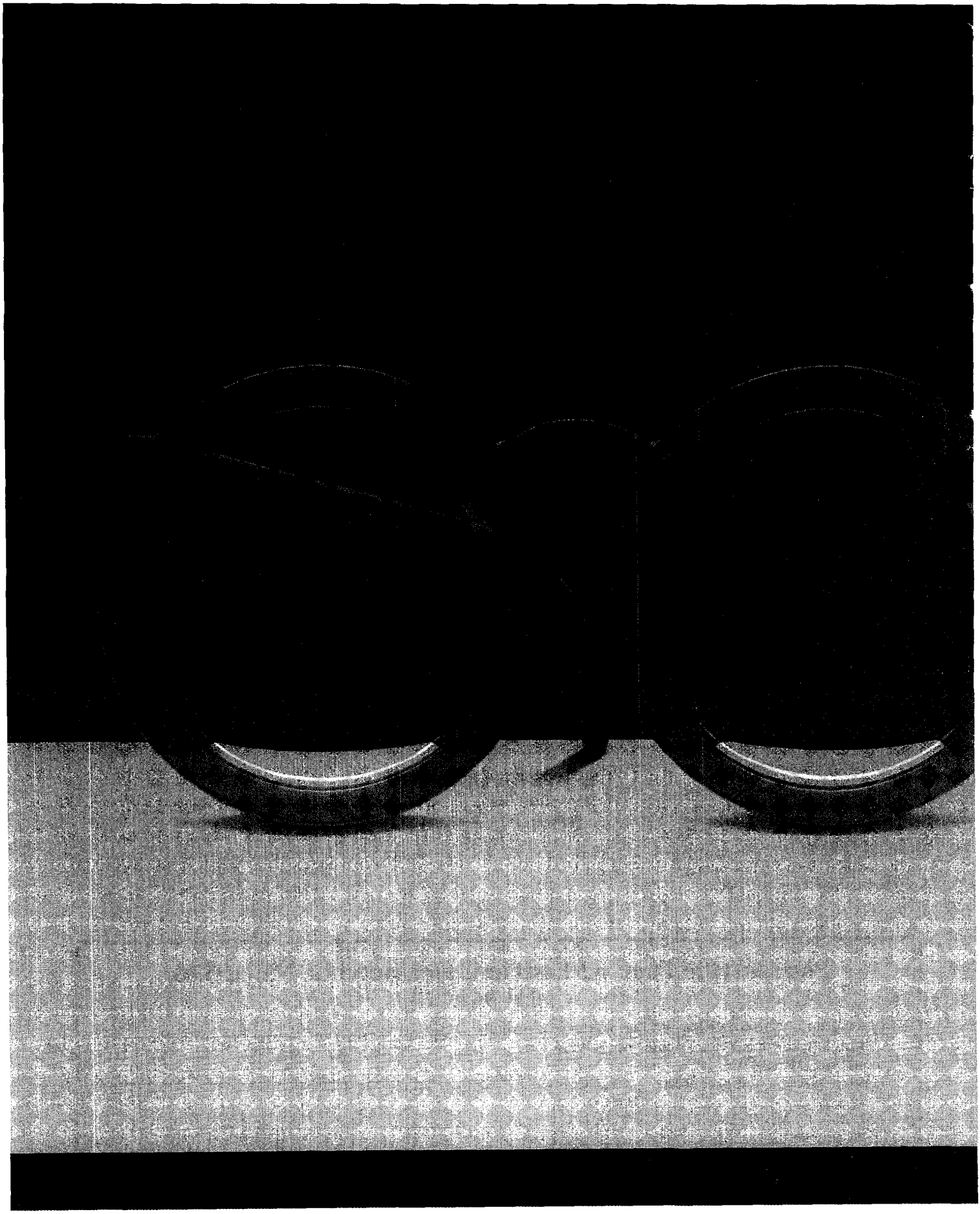
Address _____

City_____ State _____ Zip _____

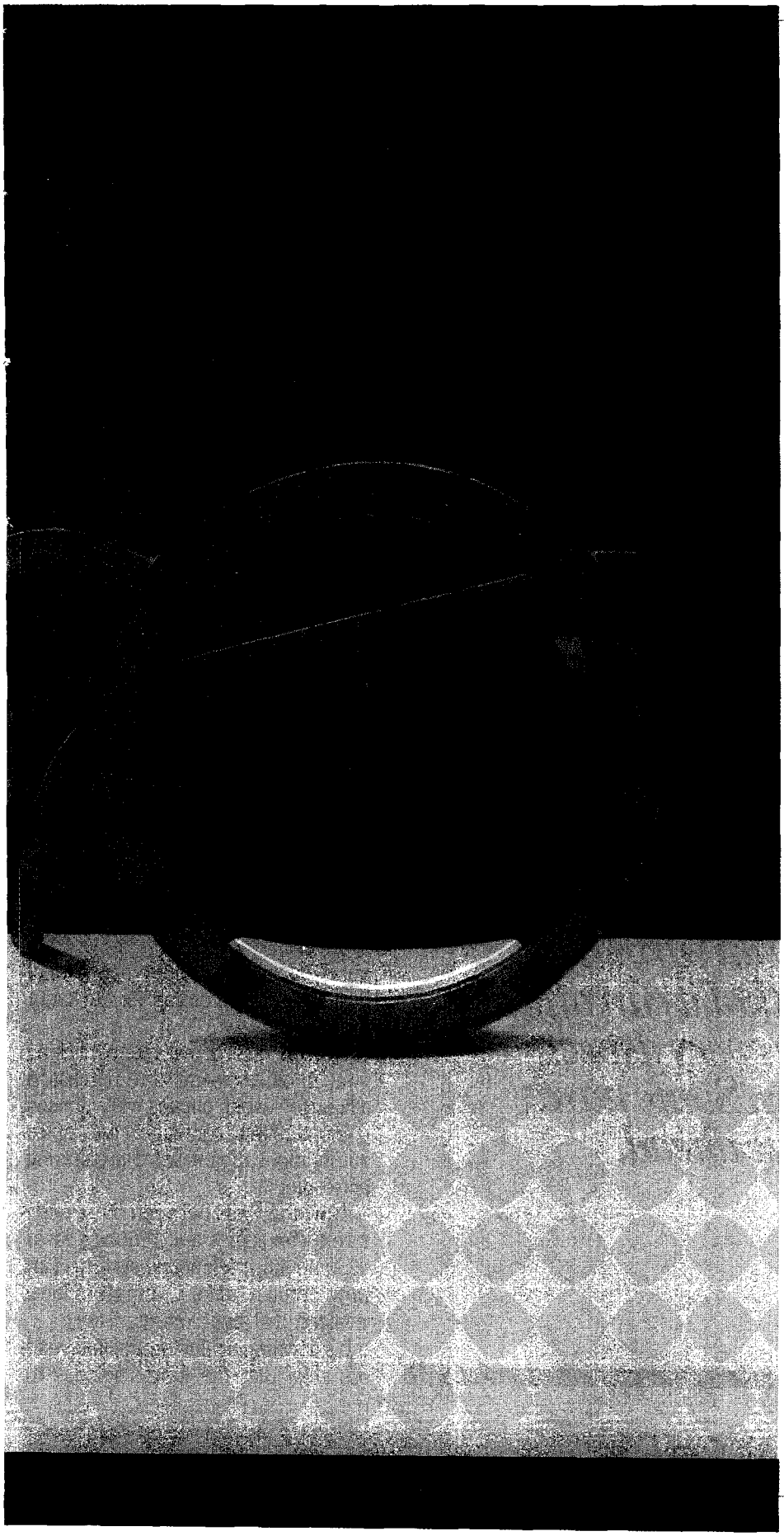
For earlier delivery, call toll-free 1-800-334-0854, 7 days, 24 hours.

© Pleasantville Plan 1984.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



OFFICE AUTOMATION: HOW MUCH IS TOO MUCH?

Sometime last year American business crossed a technological Rubicon. For the first time in our history, capital investment per office worker exceeded that per factory hand.

Like it or not, information has finally surpassed material goods as our basic resource.

Walter Wriston, ex-Citicorp chief, likens information to a new form of capital, one that is arguably "more critical to the future of the American economy than money capital."

Every day brings news of faster, smaller, more capable devices to serve the 70% of us who now work with this new form of capital.

But while the trend spotters on

continued on next page

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

continued from preceding page

their mountaintops cheer this "Second Industrial Revolution," the view from the front lines is not so rosy.

Too often, new devices are an uneasy fit with their sister machines of just a year ago. Too often, systems intended to simplify office life have the opposite effect. Grouses one manager: "The more business machines we buy, the more we seem to need."

Change is rampant. The stakes are high. Confusion is king.

◇

RASCALS. The best way to make sense of all this technology may be to ignore the whole business for a week or so and think about how your office works instead.

Who uses what kind of information? Where does it come from? What do they do with it?

No company on earth has pockets so deep that it can afford to automate every aspect of its business. Some hard choices lie ahead.

Item: In a typical office, 75% of the salary dollars go to managers and professionals. The system that spares these expensive rascals from a morning meeting or an hour of returning phone calls may be a better investment than one that does a whole day's work for someone else.

Item: The lion's share of time spent in any office is spent *communicating:* listening, talking, chasing down stray facts, dealing with mail.

Were you to keep a log, you'd be appalled by how little time you have for actually producing "work." (Par for senior executives: about 15%.)

To leverage time, look for ways to *move* information more efficiently.

A desktop computer can perform in minutes the spreadsheet analyses that used to gobble hours. But how much is gained if the figures still walk from office to office in a mail cart?

Item: Streamlining the internal workings of your office may be less profitable than automating ties with customers or suppliers.

Japanese style "just in time" deliveries from suppliers are helping U.S. automakers slash inventory costs. Computerized flight information systems have given some airlines a strategic advantage with travel agents.

No company succeeds alone.

◇

BALANCE. Complicating the question of where your systems dollar is best spent is where you spent it last time out. And the time before that. A lot of past choices are coming back to haunt today's manager.

Reason: most of the systems clicking away in offices today were purchased a la carte – when phones were phones, computers were computers, and "office automation" meant word processing and copiers.

Now the walls between these separate technologies are tumbling down.

Some office telephone systems can now process data. Computers have evolved that can communicate.

It's dawning on customers and vendors alike that the future belongs to

No company on earth has pockets so deep that it can afford to automate every aspect of its business. Some hard choices lie ahead.

©1985 AT&T Information Systems

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> *Today's customer must strike a balance between making the most of what's on hand and fighting like crazy to keep next year's options open.*

the *integrated* business system.

Today's customer must strike a balance between making the most of what's on hand and fighting like crazy to keep next year's options open.

◇

MISSING LINKS. Between today's a la carte systems and the office-wide, integrated everything of tomorrow is . . . what?

For many companies, the missing links are *networks.* By permitting different kinds of computers and other devices to share information, networks can pull today's stand-alone business machines into organized "islands" of automation.

Since these islands themselves can be networked together, users can widen the scope of automation in an organization pretty much at will.

Some companies have the backbone of an *office-wide* network already in place. Today's digital telephone switching systems (PBXs) convert speech into the same "bits" and "bytes" that computers use.

This means that many an existing telephone network can double as a highway for business data — and that "office automation" need have no geographic limits.

A plug for the home team: Every vendor does some things better than the other guys. While communications and data networks are drawing-board doodles in some shops, they are bread and butter items at AT&T.

It may be AT&T's greatest strength that we can integrate new and existing systems whether we provide *all* of those systems, or *some* of those systems, or the bridges between them.

◇

SUCCESS. Like the first Industrial Revolution, this one will lift some companies and confound others.

Those without a coherent plan to manage information in *all* its forms — the spoken word, thoughts on paper, images, and computer data—will be at a disadvantage.

In the long run, your success with office automation will have less to do with whose machines you buy — or how many — than with how freely information travels among them. It is the relationships you set up *between* the machines, not the devices themselves, that will tell the tale.

P.S. Much of this message was drawn from *The Integration Puzzle,* a two-day seminar offered by AT&T's Institute for Communications and Information Management. For further information or for a catalogue of AT&T Seminars in eight cities, please telephone 1 800 247-1212.

Or write Mr. Dale Hegstrom, AT&T Information Systems, P.O. Box 1405, Morristown, NJ 07960-1405.

AT&T

The right choice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The most important ethnic conflict in American history may be that between the English and the Scots-Irish

west through upstate New York, Ohio, and Michigan were similarly willing to spend public money on schools.

The Puritans' attitudes clashed sharply with the anti-tax individualism of the frontier Scots-Irish. Unlike the Puritans, who emigrated for religious reasons, the Scots-Irish left their homes to escape oppressive taxation. The cultural and political conflict between the two groups emerged in full feather in the presidential campaign between the intellectual John Quincy Adams and the rough-hewn Andrew Jackson. The same issues persist to the present day in the ceaseless conflict between liberal and conservative Republicans, between the big spenders and the tax rebels. The split is so enduring, one is tempted to declare that the most important ethnic conflict in American history has been that between the English and the Scots-Irish.

These strong historical roots help explain the Tax Revolt's staying power, but other factors have contributed to the movement's revival. Put simply, the movement bases itself on a theory that works. It has been tested by now in a number of states for quite a long time, and the tax rebellions in California and Massachusetts have added some spectacular new evidence. What is more, this theory gives the most comprehensive accounting for the economic split between the Sunbelt and the Frostbelt. It explains, for instance, why for more than a decade frigid but parsimonious New Hampshire has been an island of rapid growth in the aging Northeast.

Within the twenty-year period of rapidly rising tax burdens, the states that have run counter to the trend have been the economic winners. The hard figures were first provided in a 1978 study by Robert Genetski and Young D. Chin of Chicago's Harris Bank (first reported in NATIONAL REVIEW). Plotting economic performance against the rate of change in tax burden, they found that states with low tax increases or shrinking tax burdens enjoyed the best results. Their study has been confirmed a number of times since then, even by researchers who did not wish to get the same results. The complementary theory, that states with rapidly rising tax burdens can kill off their economic growth, is now becoming a political maxim, especially among those states that have actually imposed such burdens. In his recent budget message, New York Governor Mario Cuomo admitted as much in connection with his state's relative economic recovery: "No responsible voices in this state today deny the substantial impact of our tax laws."

The American Tax Revolt has been around for a long time and remains alive and well. It now has a new ally, the vigorous high-technology industries. High-tech entrepreneurs take to tax cuts in a special way: For young industries with lots of potential for growth, tax cuts are like turbochargers in a sports car, redoubling their power rather than allowing it to dissipate. Since high salaries for highly skilled staff constitute the greatest expense for these industries, they feel, more than most, the direct burden of high and progressive personal income taxes. No wonder the states leading this new Industrial Revolution—Massachusetts, California, and Texas—have all given a central place in their political agenda to tax reduction.

That agenda is being forged by a mating of new industries with an American tradition. It would be wrong to think of this new social force as a panacea for all economic problems; demography, geography, and climate still help shape events. But it would be equally wrong to consign the Tax Revolt to oblivion or underestimate its role in the years to come. As the debate on federal tax reform may show, it is a force on the American scene that cannot be ignored with impunity. □

A Quorum in the Senate

AFTER HELPING President Reagan PACKWOOD at the ranch, the senator, both ARMSTRONG, his HART invigorated and NUNN the worse, hopped on the big BYRD to fly EAST to ANDREWS Air Force Base. On the plane, he partook of a RIEGLE meal consisting of roast QUAYLE and, for dessert, a TRIBLE portion of GRAMM crackers and an ice-cream COHEN. His only complaint was that the roast did LAXALT.

Meeting his wife at the airport, he did again WARNER of a PRYOR commitment: watching the left-wing members of Congress LEVIN the earth in a space capsule—his LONG-awaited dream come true. He hoped to get there in time to DOLE out farewell insults before the HATCH was closed. As for his wife, he couldn't SPECTER to understand—she just called it CHILES play. INOUYE, she was right; but he didn't want to SASSER since she wasn't KASTEN snide remarks about it.

Leaving her, he drove his car until it became BOREN, so, BIDEN his time, he stopped at an EXON station to make a phone call—but GARN it to HECHT, he forgot to KERRY some NICKLES. He could've DODD! In a state of ROTH, he backed PELL-mell into another car, DENTON his trunk and locking BUMPERS. The irate driver bellowed: "Simple SIMON—you son of a simp—you SIMPSON! If I had my LUGAR, I'd plug ya! Look at my radiator—it's leaking GOLDWATER. I could just WALLOP you. Oh, I can't STENNIS! I ought to GORE your radiator and call it even STEVENS." The senator asked if he was injured. "Yeah—my back and MATHIAS are sore from that jolt. But right now let's get some help to BAUCUS up and rock these cars back DANFORTH to get loose."

EVANS to Betsy, thought the senator—I'd be over the HUMPHREY and clear if I were more careful. Look at my car—next time I'll HARKIN to my instincts and use the STAFFORD instead of my own FORD. What HEINZsight! This is a mess and a bum rap.

A heck of a METZENBAUM rap indeed: the senator was late for his farewell to the space capsule.

—ROBERT ROBUSTO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Abortion
A CIVILIZED EXCHANGE

HUMANITY:
The Central Question

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

THE CENTRAL ISSUE in the abortion debate is the humanity of the fetus. No other consideration is decisive. Indeed the opponents of abortion rest their entire case on a single argument:

If the fetus is a human being, then abortion is murder.

The fetus is a human being.

Abortion is murder.

The difficulty is with the second premise. How can one demonstrate that the fetus is a human being? To define it as a human being is not sufficient. After all, during the first few weeks of gestation it little resembles a human being. That it will become one does not demonstrate that it already is one.

Proponents of legal abortion contend that the fetus is not a human being but rather a part of the mother's body, wherefore abortion is not murder and indeed is no more than the exercise of a right of the mother to dispose of her own body. Yet, biologically, the fetus has the potential for independence from the beginning. In *Roe* v. *Wade* the Supreme Court sided with the proponents and declared abortion to be a constitutional right of the mother. Although *Roe* qualified the right to abortion, so that in the last few months it is granted only if the mother's health requires it, the Court also (in *Doe* v. *Bolton*) defined maternal health so as to allow, in effect, unlimited discretion to the mother and her physician.

The controversy about whether the fetus is actually a human being from conception, or if not, then about when the fetus does become human or even independently alive, cannot be resolved empirically. It depends exclusively on how one defines "human" and "being."

Certainly neither a sperm nor an ovum is a human being. It seems unpersuasive to regard the combination as human *ab initio*. The combination, the fertilized ovum, is a *potential* human being: A fetus will normally develop into a human being. But a seed, a potential tree, is not an actual tree unless one chooses to so define it; one can do so only by neglecting to distinguish between what is and what will be. On the other hand, long before birth the embryo shares essential physical characteristics of human beings.

Although we cannot decide empirically whether or when a fetus ought to be defined as a human being, we can decide whether the fetus is sentient or, rather, when it is not. Sentience is a criterion that is at once more stringent and more empirical than humanity, neither a matter of definition, nor of metaphysics. Not all sentient beings are human, but certainly all human beings normally are sentient. Sentient beings can be killed, though they are murdered only if human as well. (Cows are killed, not murdered.)

If the fetus is sentient, abortion kills, regardless of whether the killing is murder. It kills at least a potential human being, for nobody denies that the fetus is that.

When does the fetus become sentient? I do not presume to know. For that matter, nobody knows for certain. Nonetheless we do know when the fetus can *not* be sentient, i.e., feel pain or pleasure. Sperm is not sentient; nor is an ovum. There is no reason to believe that the fertilized ovum is sentient from the moment of conception, since there is, as yet, no neural system. Although we do not know for certain whether and when sentience begins in intrauterine existence, we do know that there can be no sentience without an elementary nervous system and brain. Without a functioning brain even fully grown human beings do not feel pain; and if the appropriate nerve is cut, they do not feel pain even with a brain. Hence, embryos cannot feel pain until they have an active brain with a functioning cortex and functioning nerves. Embryos get something like a neural system and a brain—using these terms quite liberally—only toward the end of the first trimester. It follows that they cannot feel anything before then. (Nobody is quite sure about after. Movements of the embryo may be reflex movements, in response to various stimuli, and may, but need not, indicate pain or pleasure.) Abortion undertaken in the first 12 weeks does not kill a sentient being.

Thus, to oppose abortion because it may be painful to the fetus, or may

Mr. van den Haag is John M. Olin Professor of Jurisprudence and Public Policy at Fordham University in New York City.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

kill a sentient, potentially human, being, should mean opposing it only after the first trimester. Furthermore, although potentially human all along, the fetus is much more actually human after the first 12 weeks of gestation. Hence, it seems plausible to extend legal protection to it after 12 weeks.

ONE MAY still oppose abortion, even in the first 12 weeks, for philosophical reasons. The current position of the Roman Catholic Church on this matter, if not practical, is consistent. The Church opposes the prevention of human life by any artificial (positive) means; therefore it opposes abortion at any time and contraception as well. The case against abortion in the first trimester must rest entirely on metaphysics and philosophy. However, there are empirical reasons for opposing abortion after three months of gestation, which require anyone morally opposed to infanticide to oppose such abortions.

Consider now some related matters.

Viability seems irrelevant. Suppose we could make a fertilized ovum viable outside the uterus. That would make it neither human nor sentient in the first 12 weeks of development. So the issue of viability seems irrelevant. Nonviability, however, if clear, is an acceptable reason for abortion.

That the pregnancy is *inconvenient* or unwanted is irrelevant after the first three months. Maternal preferences cannot justify abortion thereafter unless they are allowed to justify infanticide as well: The difference between a fetus and an infant rapidly decreases after three months.

Rape makes the rapist guilty of a crime and the victim's pregnancy unwanted. The fetus is not guilty and is entitled to be treated like any other: We cannot, once the fetus is sentient, kill him because the father committed a crime and the mother does not want him.

On the other hand, to keep the fetus alive the mother must, as it were, extend him hospitality. He is an uninvited and perhaps a despised guest. We would not legally compel a woman to keep another person in her house for nine months, and certainly not linked to her body, even if the other person would die unless so kept.

Thus we are faced with a dilemma. We do not want the innocent fetus to perish, merely because he has been conceived without the consent of the woman he inhabits. But we do not want to compel a woman to lend her body—and suffer all the inconveniences and dangers of doing so—to somebody whose arrival she had not wished even to risk.

The rape victim, then, should have the right that any woman should have to abort the fetus during the clearly non-sentient first 12 weeks. Rape is simply an additional reason for granting this right. If she fails to abort, however, she must be understood to have consented to bring the fetus to term. She should not later be allowed to kill a possibly sentient, potentially human, and certainly innocent being. Still, we should not compel the mother to raise a baby conceived by her without her having consented to the act that risked conception. Rather, if she so wishes, we should make it easy for her to turn the child over to foster or adoptive parents. So far as possible, the burden should fall on the society that did not protect her from rape.

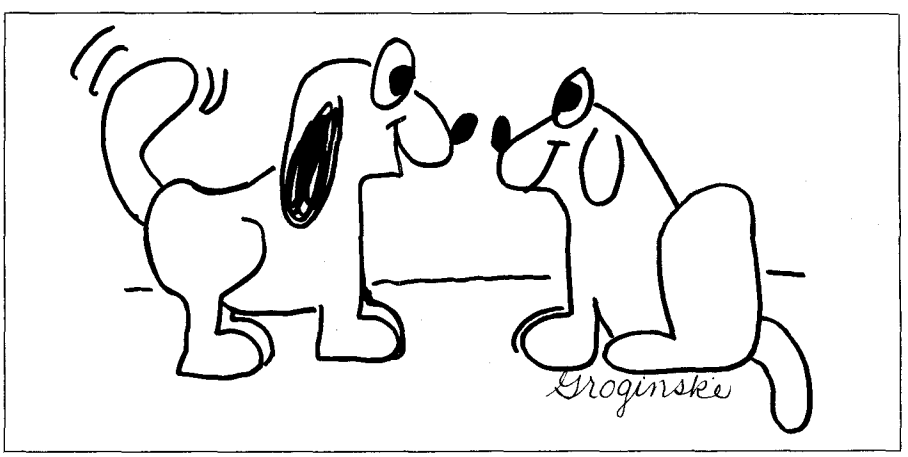
In the case of *disabling defects*, the fetus should, once sentient, be treated exactly as a disabled infant. Only if we allowed parents to let such infants die, or to kill them, should we allow parents to eliminate a fetus after the first trimester.

The principle is clear. However, some practical considerations might modify its application. Up until now, at least, deformities and defects have been ascertainable only after the first 12 weeks. Moreover, though we can make abortion unlawful we cannot prevent it. Making it illegal would diminish the number of abortions just as making burglary illegal diminishes the number of burglaries. Abortion, however, would not be diminished as much, since it is harder to detect (often there is no complainant), and since it was more widely accepted even when unlawful. Pregnant women who learn after the first trimester that their babies will be severely defective are much more likely to obtain an abortion, however unlawful, than women who expect normal babies. Should we let them do legally, within appropriate limits, what they would otherwise do illegally without any limits?

There might be a case for abortion if it is certain that the baby could not survive infancy; or would be so severely handicapped, mentally and physically, as to be unable to have other than a vegetative existence. (There may be a case for not helping adults to survive in these conditions either.)

The decision about abortion, however, must be based on the best interests of the fetus, not on the interests of the parents. The decision should be based on the answer to the question: If the fetus knew everything we know, and were competent to decide rationally, would it prefer to be aborted? Except for gross abuses, the decision should be left to parents informed by medical advisors.

Traditionally we have qualified rights and duties. For instance, we believe that a man has a duty to render military service, including the killing of enemies, when drafted to do so. We know, however, that some persons have strong conscientious objections to performing such a duty. Rather than compelling or punishing them, we permit them, as a privilege, not to do their duty, because of their special difficulties. We might make a similar exception for women pregnant with highly defective babies. To be sure, there



"Let's make a date to howl at the moon together."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are differences. Conscientious objection does not kill anyone (although, if the objector does not serve, and you go in his place, you may be killed in his place); legal abortion of a defective fetus after the first trimester would kill the fetus. But I see no practical way of protecting him from a mother strongly motivated to kill him; and it may be in his interest to be killed.

A new scientific procedure based on chorionic-villi sampling, done painlessly, and apparently with little risk, may ease this dilemma a bit. It promises to make available in the eighth to 12th week of gestation all the information amniocentesis makes available in the 16th week. If chorionic-villi sampling (currently being investigated by the National Institutes of Health) keeps its promise, pregnant women could know within the first trimester whether a fetus is defective. The desire to abort defective fetuses after sentience would occur much less often, although, in the interest of the fetus, such abortion still may be permitted.

A calm review of the central issues yields, then, three conclusions:

Abortion before sentience should be generally permitted.

Abortion after sentience should be generally prohibited.

Abortion of highly defective fetuses might be permitted even after sentience when in the interest of the fetus. □

SENTIENCE

Is Not the Issue

JOHN T. NOONAN JR.

Opponents of abortion contend that:

1. The fetus is a human being.
2. To kill a human being in the womb is abortion (*not* murder).
3. Abortion is morally evil.

Opponents of abortion do not confuse what is potential with what is actual. A fertilized ovum already has some actuality. If it were pure potential, it would not be observable. The actuality the fertilized ovum has is actuality as a human being.

Why? Because its progenitors are human beings. It is not mineral or vegetable or animal. Its chromosomes are the number that make a human being human. It has the DNA that contains the genetic signals governing its future development as a human being. Very soon it can be identified as he or she. These five reasons require us to recognize the new humanity that exists after fertilization.

Sentience is not a criterion for deciding whether a human being can be killed. If it were, we could anaesthetize intended victims and painlessly kill them. We cannot kill innocent human beings, sentient or not.

The pain experienced by the victims of abortion does serve to remind us that we are taking life. We know as much (or as little, if you like) about the pain experienced by the unborn as we do about the pain experienced by animals. In neither case do they say: "Ouch! It hurts"; or "I'm in pain." But we do not need those verbal formulae. For the most part we rely on the knowledge that if pressure is brought to bear on the skin or on the vital organs of a living creature, that creature's natural movement will show aversion as a reaction to pain. All that is necessary is that a neural system and sense receptors be in place, as Mr. van den Haag seems to admit.

The hard cases will always be hard cases. They were very deliberately exploited by the proponents of abortion in the 1960s. They were the effective edge of the wedge. They deserve relatively little attention now when we are trying to deal with abortion on the massive scale of 1.5 million per year. They distract from the real horror.

Yet, for completeness, let me say that in this age of candor about sex, any victim of rape should be told that just as soon as possible steps should be taken to destroy the semen. The case is a classic case of double effect. It is entirely legitimate to destroy the seed; the effect on a possible fertilized ovum is not one for which there is moral liability. As to deformed children, the most common case is that of Down's syndrome. I do not believe that Down's-syndrome babies should be killed after birth or before birth. General rules governing the circumstances in which it is not mandatory to prolong dying life apply, of course, to human beings in the womb as well as outside it. □

Mr. Noonan is a professor of law at the University of California at Berkeley. His most recent book is Bribes.

A Brief Rejoinder

Some of Professor Noonan's points puzzle me. They are:

1. How can it be "*not* murder" to intentionally and with premeditation "kill a human being in the womb," even if it legally be called abortion?

2. Why is there no "moral liability" for killing a "human being in the womb" if the father was guilty of rape and the mother a victim thereof? Does that make the fetus guilty too?

3. Although it is "*not* murder," Professor Noonan contends that "we cannot kill innocent human beings, sentient or not." Right. The question Professor Noonan begs here is whether or not the pre-sentient fetus is an actual rather than a potential human being.

4. He begs this question by contending that if the fetus "were pure potential it would not be observable." Who said "*pure* potential"? We all, including fetuses, are actually what we are and potentially what we will become. I presume Professor Noonan actually is a middle-aged man and potentially an old and ultimately a dead man. The former can, but the latter two cannot, be observed as yet. This would not lead me to contend that Professor Noonan is actually dead, or to confuse a potential human being with an actual one.

5. Professor Noonan offers five reasons explaining why "the actuality the fertilized ovum has is actuality as a human being." His reasons range from progenitors to chromosomes and DNA. They apply not only to fetuses but also, *mutatis mutandis*, to fertilized hens' eggs. Yet I do not call an egg a chicken, despite its potential to become one. Does Professor Noonan? If not, why does he identify the potential with the actual when it comes to fetuses? —ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help !!!!

"Oh, I'd rob from the poor, too, but they're always broke."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Teddy Comes a-Courting

In a move momentous as
Pavarotti singing jazz,
Teddy caused a fearful fuss
Blaming budget woes "on us."
Though the liberals went limp,
It's a sign he'll stoop to primp,
Bat an eye, or make a date
For some votes in '88.

W. H. VON DREELE

"Yes, I am depressed. I just realized that the tie I'm wearing is older than you are."

MEANWHILE, IN SIBERIA, THE SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING GROUP MARKS THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SISTER MARY IGNATIUS, VANESSA REDGRAVE, & ROGER BALDWIN

In Yiddish to call a person *prust* is to say that he looks at things plainly and simply—in effect, to characterize him as a philistine. I suppose the Anti-Defamation League's attitude about many matters close to the hearts of prominent civil libertarians and intellectuals has at times been viewed as *prust*. Again and again we've been compelled to play philistine, not the happiest role for a Jewish organization, a goodly number of whose members are card-carriers in the intelligentsia.

We Jews are, after all, the people of the Book—even if the book is sometimes by Al Goldstein. We've been brought up to believe that the book and the printed word are sacred, even wondrous, and that scribes are the bearers of higher truths.

I remember my despair when I found out otherwise.

As a young man, I felt warmly about Voltaire. But my true love, my true American hero, was Jack London. I saw him as I did Voltaire, brilliant, a great read, and a derring-doer on the side of social justice. (I was at that stage when causes supplant box scores as the things that really matter.) But my love was spurned. It turned out that Voltaire and London had more than social justice in common. Voltaire was a part-time anti-Semite, and so was London.

And then there was Nikos Kazantzakis. I loved London and Voltaire, but I worshipped him. As one remembers a first love, that first sight of the Grand Canyon, I remember the summer my wife and I read aloud to each other Kazantzakis's *The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel.*

Alas, it was only a summer romance. For after *The Odyssey*, after *Zorba the Greek*, *The Greek Passion*, *Freedom or Death*, and *The Last Temptation of Christ*, came his autobiography, *Report to Greco*. I rushed to buy, to possess and treasure the final legacy of the then dying master. And it was a single, simply written sentence as swift and as sudden as a karate blow that snapped my adoration—a line about a winding Jerusalem street casually glimpsed a lifetime ago and called back to memory by the old man. On this street were "the Jews, with their long greasy sideburns, [who] slunk along the walls of the houses, their hooked noses dripping venom."

I don't mean to make too much of the "greasy sideburns" or the "hooked noses dripping venom." But for me, *Report to Greco* provided a flash of insight into anti-Semitism. Earlier in the book, recalling his boyhood, Kazantzakis wrote:

> The sound of certain words excited me terribly—it was fear I felt most often, not joy. Especially Hebrew words, for I knew from my grandmother that on Good Friday the Jews took Christian children and tossed them into a trough lined with spikes and drank their blood. Oftentimes it seemed to me that a Hebrew word from the Old Testament was a spike-lined trough and that someone wanted to throw me in.

Kazantzakis, London, Percival Wren in *Beau Geste*, H. Rider Haggard in *Allan Quatermain*, Dorothy Sayers, Agatha Christie, all those unexpected places in which the young reader I was, was ambushed, slapped, shamed.

I once asked my favorite junior-high-school English teacher why these writers didn't like Jews. He pointed out that writers are products of their society, their social class. This social class has in common certain attitudes. The writer mirrors these attitudes. Although I nodded, feigning understanding, I wondered where it was written that they had to mirror these attitudes quite so well. And why, if they must mirror attitudes, did they have to mirror the very worst ones?

As an adult I think I understand. If you're part of Western culture, how can you fail to respond to the tale of Hugh of Lincoln, to Barabas, the Jew of Malta, to Shylock and Fagin, to Dostoyevsky's obsessed, demonic people and their obsessed, demonic ravings about "the satanic tribe of Abraham"?

Nevertheless, if you're Jewish, conditioned by two thousand years to expect the worst, can you afford the luxury of an exclusively literary response? Let me put it the *prust*, the philistine, way: How far is it possible for even the most supremely gifted virtuoso to transform vicious and ugly matter into literature? Into beauty?

When Ezra Pound received the prestigious Bollingen prize for poetry in 1949 for *The Pisan Cantos*, the committee, sententiously I thought, declared: "To permit other considerations than that of poetic achievement to sway the decision would be unthinkable . . . We are aware of the objections that may be raised concerning Pound's career as a Fascist and anti-Semite, but we have confined our judgment to his poetry . . ."

The judges, however, were making a public award, and a public award carries certain public responsibilities. It is one thing to celebrate Pound's masterly rhythms and impeccable diction; it is quite another to ignore the fact that the masterly rhythms and impeccable diction went into such toxic lines as:

> *the yidd is a stimulant, and the goyim are cattle*
> *in gt/proportion and go to saleable slaughter*
> *with the maximum of docility*

Mr. Perlmutter is the national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. This article is adapted from a speech given at the convention of the American Library Association, July 9, 1985.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gentlemen:

This isn't a letter to the editor, I just wanted to tell you that National Review has been a surprise to me. I got my first copy on a newsstand when I saw Solzhenitsyn's name on the cover. I was only vaguely aware of what National Review was because I read Bill Buckley but of course I knew Solzhenitsyn, and his speech in that issue [The Templeton Address, NR July 27 --Ed.] was great. Then I read your article on Walter Mondale and I thought that was pretty good too. Anyway I ended up reading the whole thing and subscribing. Now I wish I had known about it before because you really do have a different point of view from my usual stuff. I admit I don't agree with it all, but it is different and I like the funny items and appreciate the Buckley columns which I don't see very often anymore in the [Washington] Post (and when they do run them they look like they're only about half as long as yours anyway). Just thought I'd let you know that you're doing a good job, at least for a reader who spends most of his days glazed-eyed over government documents.

B. Tobin
Washington, D. C.

We'll admit we don't get many letters like the above—nor does our new friend put the case for NR exactly as we would ourselves. Still, he makes a great point: NR is different, and it's well worth getting regularly. So if you don't yet have your own personal subscription, why not use the card facing this page now? It will bring you the next 15 valuable issues for just $17.95 (saving you a full $4.55 over the newsstand price). And *now* is the best time to have NR—at the start of the Second Reagan Era, you shouldn't miss a single installment of NR's unique reporting and inside information. So fill out and mail the card facing this page right now (before you get distracted). You'll be glad you did—and so, of course, will we. Many thanks!

P.S.: *You can also use the card to send NR to somebody you know who should be reading it.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Since the notion of the Jew using others to fight his wars was one of the centerpieces of Nazi propaganda, the ADL decided to open the aesthetic window and let in a few good deep breaths of philistine air. We wrote and asked the judges how they managed to so successfully separate form from content. They answered that the lines we cited were part of a lyrical poem. We wrote again, seeking to know if the sentiments expressed by Pound—sentiments not unrelated to the then freshly dead six million Jews—were also lyrical. Their answer? No surprise, indeed a cliché: They replied that they did not wish to have their judgment taken outside the court of literary criticism, that Pound was a great poet, and they earnestly hoped we would be willing to let it go at that.

We weren't. We continued our public protest. So of course we got impassioned letters from a number of poets accusing us of, among other things, "adding to the plight of the creative artist in America by our implied threat of censorship."

Nonsense. The ADL has never accepted the role of censor. We have not sought to remove a single book from a shelf, a single play from the boards, a single film from the screen. We are in the creative artist's camp—after all, so many of them are us.

SEVERAL Broadway seasons ago, the play *Sister Mary Ignatius Explains It All for You* received serious critical attention. The playwright had created a rather clever piece of stagecraft—offering, in essence, an extended monologue delivered by a teaching sister to her class. And what a sister! She was a pathetic, half-daft creature who meandered about sex and morality, sex and music, sex and civilization, sex and crime, sex and certain nervous disorders, and, to heighten dramatic tension, just plain sex. In passing, she spoofed the Crucifixion, the Virgin Birth, the doctrine of papal infallibility, and most of the seven deadly sins.

Nevertheless, the author was apparently surprised when the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights was infuriated with *Sister Mary Ignatius*. When it turned out that we supported the Catholic League, he was incredulous. He wrote to ask if we had not somehow made a mistake and taken the wrong position. "After all," he said, "you are a liberal organization." He was right. The ADL is, indeed, a liberal organization: more liberal than he suspected, because our liberalism extends to Catholics as well as Jews.

What reaction did he expect? Was he not having an artistic go at the establishment, eager to draw attention to himself and his play? In which case, why be so offended when you get that attention? And why not understand the right of others to take offense? Such selective sensitivity, I fear, emits an odor of sanctimony worse than Sister Mary Ignatius's.

I suppose, at bottom, my position is something like this: May the Good Lord and this Republic grant such authors long years of speaking out . . . And may I be similarly granted the right of contesting what they say.

But this position, which seems on the face of it so simple, was not arrived at simply—and was not arrived at without some confusion and a decidedly troubled conscience. For I'm a protégé of Roger Baldwin, the man who was to contemporary civil liberties roughly what Frank Lloyd Wright was to contemporary architecture. It was Roger Baldwin's recommendation that convinced the ADL to hire me 36 years ago.

I was sent to the Denver office and before long drew what is still for me a memorable assignment. I had to visit the manager of a radio station in Albuquerque and tell him that one of the commentators whose broadcasts he carried was an anti-Semite—though not over the air waves. Instead, every broadcast would end with an offer of free literature to concerned listeners. The literature he sent out might have been lifted straight from Goebbels's Ministry of Propaganda.

I was in misery, assailed by waves of self-doubt. How could I ever live with myself? How could I reconcile my assignment with everything I believed about the sacredness of free speech? Nevertheless, I did what I had to do. Seconds after I'd said my piece, the station manager summoned an aide and ordered him to cancel the commentator. You might say of my mission, agony in victory.

A few days later, Roger Baldwin was in Denver, and he paid me a visit. I told him everything and braced myself for his disapproval. Instead, he chuckled, and pointed out that the decision to fire the commentator had not been mine. He pointed out further that I would do well to consider my own freedom of speech. Should I have suppressed my rights while the anti-Semite continued to exercise his? Then he mused, talking as much to himself as to me: "Why is it that the good guys are always made to feel guilty?"

LET CALENDAR leaves exfoliate. Let 36 years pass . . . I'm at my desk and I've just gotten a call from a prominent columnist on a major metropolitan daily. He's doing a piece on Vanessa Redgrave's suit against the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Miss Redgrave, whose enthusiastic support of the PLO approaches Yasir Arafat's, who once made a point of being filmed embracing terrorists and firing a Kalashnikov rifle in the direction of Israel's northern border, had had a scheduled appearance canceled by the orchestra. The reason: threats of violence from Jewish militants and stern warnings from Jewish philanthropists that her appearance would mean the end of their generous contributions.

The columnist took an adversarial tone. How did I feel, he demanded, about Jews who used their financial clout as a weapon against an artist whose political views differed from theirs?

I answered, "Fine," I felt just fine about it.

Didn't I think some of the more liberal members of the Boston Jewish community might have problems swallowing the abridgment of Miss Redgrave's civil rights by these big givers?

I replied I hoped not. And I advanced the proposition that a big giver, a philanthropist, yes, a fatcat, had the inalienable right to give—or not to give—to what he pleased. Surely, I ventured, any philanthropist who voluntarily enriched the political paramour of those who sought to kill him would be a damn fool.

The columnist wrote his piece—a rather corrosive one—and left me and my views out of it.

Had I been crude? Wanting in sensitivity? *Prust*? Is a philanthropist's freedom of speech less sanctified by either the Constitution or common sense than an actress's?

I heard myself thinking, in the tones and cadences of Roger Baldwin, "Why is it that the good guys are always made to feel guilty?" □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ABROAD

PARIS *Those Pyrénées*

"The Pyrénées no longer exist," trumpeted Louis XIV when his grandson became king of Spain, and after the recent visit of King Juan Carlos to Paris to sign a protocol of friendship and cooperation, the *bon mot* was recalled in a headline: "The Pyrénées no longer exist—almost." The newspaper *Le Monde* went on to acclaim the provisions of the agreement, which calls for regular consultation across the board, as not only a sign of bilateral harmony but also an enhancement of Spain's new membership in the European Common Market. This smoothing out of Franco-Spanish relations should end a period of suspicion occasioned in particular by French sanctuary for Basque terrorists. The fact that the French authorities have recently extradited three men sought by Spain and have removed "undesirable guests," i.e., Spanish Basques who have crossed over into France, from the departments along the frontier has appeased anger in Madrid. To this process, the amiable personality of the king and his political success at home have contributed much, the paper added, hoping it would signify the end of a long period of coolness, during which, "ever since the Napoleonic wars, the two countries have confronted each other like two porcelain dogs." The "almost" in the headline, however, refers to the fact that Spain has proved resistant to certain French commercial contracts, notably for the Airbus passenger plane, the Mirage fighter, and French subway technology.

SEOUL *Olympics—Once and Future*

The Communist regime of North Korea is trying to muscle in on the Olympic Games scheduled to be held in this capital of South Korea in 1988 and has bluntly proposed that it co-host the event. The proposal includes a demand that there be only one team representing both halves of Korea, separated for forty years, since the end of the Second World War. The staging of the Olympic Games has become the one immediate national objective of the South Korean government, and this proposal does not make things easier. Seoul itself had previously made suggestions concerning a unified Korean team, but they came to nothing. A similar attempt before the Los Angeles games of last year led to an impasse. At the same time, the South Korean Olympic Organizing Committee has gone on record against the holding of some of the athletic events in North Korea as impractical.

SOFIA *In the Balkans*

The Turkish minority in Bulgaria, some 900,000 people, or one-tenth of the population, has suddenly ceased to be Turkish. This change, effected by the substitution of Bulgarian names for Turkish ones, has taken place over the last few months without much outside knowledge. But while the Communist regime here claims that the change was "spontaneous," other reports indicate it was accompanied by violence and humiliation. There has been a considerable number of Turks living in Bulgaria ever since this part of the Balkan peninsula was conquered six centuries ago by the Ottoman Empire. When Bulgaria became independent in 1908, Turks living within its new frontiers were recognized as an official minority and accorded schools run in their own language. In recent years, however, the Bulgarian authorities have refused to confirm the existence of an ethnic Turkish group in the country, and the "Bulgarization" process has been carried out in secrecy. Reports from Ankara speak of troops occupying recalcitrant Turkish communities, and even of rapes and deaths as local Turks resisted. The official explanation of the "adoption" of Slavic names is that the Turks are really the descendants of "Islamized" Bulgars who finally agreed to set history straight. No one knows why the authorities chose this moment to force through their name-changing program. Some believe it was because of Bulgarian involvement in the attempted assassination of the Pope by a Turkish gunman.

RABAT *Loose Ends*

The winding down of the Anglo-Spanish conflict over Gibraltar (British and Spanish airlines have just agreed to share the Rock's commercial traffic, for example) has brought other loose ends of history to the fore. They consist of Morocco's claim to the two Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, which Spain retained from its old territory of Spanish Morocco when that country regained independence thirty years ago. The two cities, situated on Morocco's Mediterranean coast, are of no great economic importance. But inevitably they are a reminder of colonial days. It has always been understood that the Spanish government would turn its attention to this problem as soon as Gibraltar was solved. The view here is that it will be on the international agenda before long.

LONDON *Farewell and "Good-Bye"*

The bright red telephone box, as familiar a symbol of London as the bowler hat or the double-decker bus, is fast disappearing and will soon be gone forever. Only a token preservation of the species will recall one of the most distinctive street features of the metropolis. The boxes, designed by the great revivalist architect Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, are Georgian in character with a domed roof. They are being replaced by plain glass rectangles accented in canary yellow and described as "in the American style."

Harpur, *Punch* / Rothco

"I never feel I'm really *in the country until I see a nuclear base."*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Malcolm T. Stamper
ACROSS THE BOARD
35,000, 11 times a year.

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick
COMMENTARY
45,000, monthly.

Bill Bradley
THE NEW REPUBLIC
90,000, weekly.

Jack
NATIONA
115,000,

THE LEADER
THE PERFE

One price, One order, On

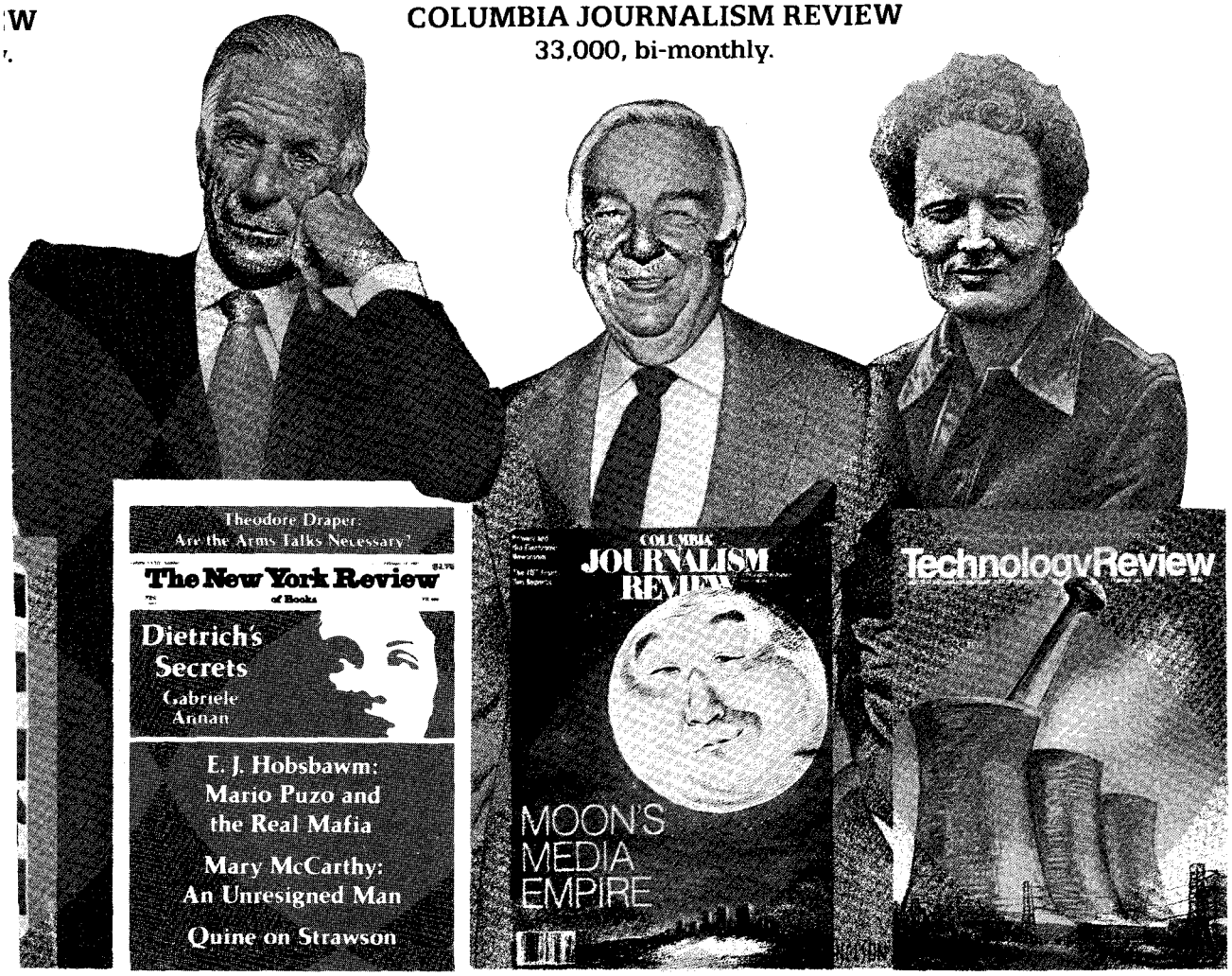
THE LEADERSHIP NETWORK, 254 FIFTI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Kenneth Galbraith
NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS
120,000, bi-weekly.

Lester Thurow
TECHNOLOGY REVIEW
75,000, 8 times a year.

Walter Cronkite
COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW
33,000, bi-monthly.



IP NETWORK
PACKAGE

lience of two million plus.

JE NEW YORK, NY 10001 (212) 684-5500

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RED, DEAD, OR NEITHER

In April 1945, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson briefed the new President, Harry Truman, about a secret program: "Within four months we shall in all probability have completed the most terrible weapon ever known in human history, one bomb of which could destroy a whole city." Stimson's account of the decision to drop the atomic bomb appeared in the February 1947 issue of *Harper's*. The article is reprinted in the current issue of the *SAIS Review* (Summer/Fall 1985), along with several original articles on the aftermath of Hiroshima.

The *SAIS Review* is hardly alone in its commemoration of the dawn of nuclear weaponry. Recent issues of prestige quarterlies have been chock full of such articles. For example, *Daedalus*, the journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, devoted both its Spring and Summer issues to discussions of the Strategic Defense Initiative (a/k/a "Star Wars"). Similarly, the four-hundred-page April issue of the University of Chicago's quarterly journal *Ethics* was filled with articles on nuclear deterrence. (Robert W. Tucker's essay, "Morality and Deterrence," deserves special mention.)

Nevertheless, for all the competition, the article that has attracted the most attention lately—and deservedly—is Albert Wohlstetter's "Between an Unfree World and None," in the Summer *Foreign Affairs*. As one of America's foremost defense thinkers for four decades, and currently president of the European American Institute for Security Research and director of research at Pan Heuristics, Wohlstetter is awesomely well prepared to speak truth to power, including the powerfully misinformed.

Wohlstetter punctures the notion that we are painted into a "Red or dead" corner—a notion given some respectability by scientific reports predicting that a devastating "nuclear winter" would kill what life remained after a nuclear war. The concept of "nuclear winter" was made famous by the publication in late 1983 of a draft study by a group of scientists that included Carl Sagan, the Cornell physicist and host of the popular PBS series *Cosmos*. This paper extends the findings of a 1982 Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences study positing that the smoke from fires ignited by nuclear war might darken the earth. Furthermore, late in 1984, our own National Academy of Sciences concluded that there was a "clear possibility" that the sun would be blocked following a major nuclear exchange, causing frigid temperatures with disastrous effects on the Northern Hemisphere.

Wohlstetter cites a number of different kinds of uncertainties that would considerably affect the chances for a nuclear winter, but to which nuclear-winter theorists pay no heed. For example, we do not know where or in what season an attacker would use nuclear weapons, nor do we know how many warheads, or even what types of weapons. We cannot know beforehand the victim's (e.g., NATO's) response. And there are factual uncertainties. We have no empirical studies to tell us how much fuel, or what kind, is at various potential targets, and how it is likely to burn. No attention has been given to how smoke and dust would be transported in the lower atmosphere nor to potential biological effects from changes in temperature and the like. "Nuclear-winter theorists . . . tend to treat these uncertainties as if they were simply matters of chance uninfluenced by choice . . . ," Wohlstetter argues. "They presume explicitly, at any rate, that the antagonists will make their choices of targets, methods of attack, and timing without any intelligent consideration as to the likely implications of such choices for their own destruction by a nuclear winter."

Furthermore, Wohlstetter considers unrealistic the scenarios of likely nuclear exchanges used in nuclear-winter studies. The number of bombs dropped is huge—25,000 on-target detonations in the National Academy of Sciences study, or half the world's stockpile. The studies seem to require collaboration by the antagonists, who drop their bombs to a remarkable degree on population (and, thus, fuel-storage) centers. What's more, their choice of targets is eccentric. The Swedish study estimates 15 nuclear explosions each over Manila, Djakarta, Bombay, Calcutta, New Delhi, Madras, Dacca, Sydney, and Hong Kong. "In a war between the United States and the Soviet Union?" Wohlstetter asks, incredulously.

As considerable as is Wohlstetter's disagreement with the nuclear-winter theorists, however, ultimately he seeks to free us from an error graver than theirs. His real prey is Mutual Assured Destruction.

Supporters of the Mutual Assured Destruction doctrine figure that nuclear war is less likely if to use such weapons is tantamount to national suicide. Thus they oppose efforts to give the U.S., as it were, a non-suicidal nuclear capability. Yet ours is the only side whose policies they can affect. Hence, while the Soviets develop an ever more flexible nuclear force and constantly improve their civilian and military defenses, the U.S. gets locked into a configuration of weapons appropriate for Doomsday, but no other day.

Wohlstetter insists that there are ideologues in the West who would like "to foreclose any Western options for responding to nuclear attack other than the extremes of bringing on the apocalypse or giving up." In the Summer issue of *Foreign Affairs*, they meet their match.

"The alternatives are not whether to be Red or dead," concludes Albert Wohlstetter. "It is possible to be both Red and dead. Or neither." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN THE LAND OF RUNYON

Arnold Beichman

The Death Merchant, by Joseph C. Goulden with Alexander W. Raffio (Simon & Schuster, 455 pp., $17.95)

FREDERICK FORSYTH, John Le Carré, Robert Ludlum, Ian Fleming? Forget them. Joseph Goulden's book has them all beaten, by light years. Not only is truth stranger than fiction but, in this case, it is more fascinating. The characters in this international world of spooks, mercenaries, arms dealers, and terrorists are real. There are moments, though, when the reader will think he has stumbled into the world according to Runyon.

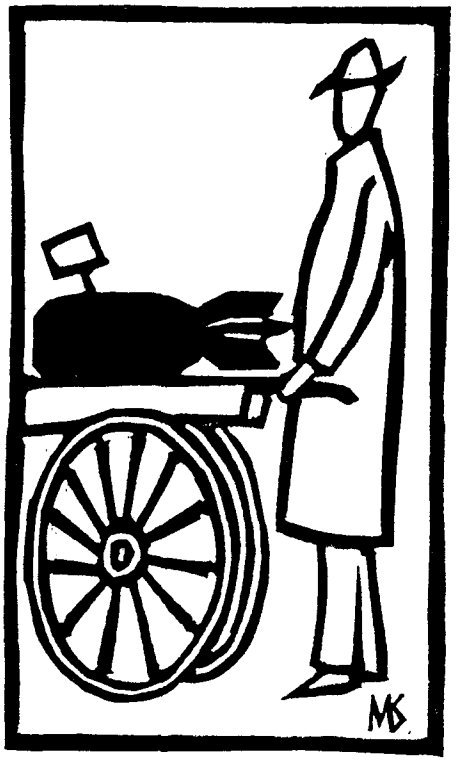
"The death merchant" is the melodramatic name for Edwin P. Wilson, now in jail for a long time to come. He is ineligible for parole until the year 2000 because, as Goulden puts it, this onetime intelligence officer, a renegade American, betrayed his country to Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi.

Specifically, Wilson, a man in his mid-fifties, was convicted in 1982 of conspiring "to supply covertly and for a profit the government of Libya with personnel, explosives, explosive material, and other goods necessary to make explosive devices, and to teach others how to make explosive devices in a terrorist training project." He and some of his fellow conspirators in Qaddafi's Murder Inc. were charged with trying to arrange the assassination in 1976 of an anti-Qaddafi Libyan living abroad. And then because he also conspired, after his arrest and conviction, to assassinate his Department of Justice prosecutors, he was given an additional jail sentence.

Goulden has reconstructed the Wilson case with the help of one of Wilson's Mafiosi, the book's co-author. Alexander W. Raffio was an electronics expert who sold his services to the highest Middle East bidder and then turned himself in. He now has a new identity under the Federal Witness Protection Program.

In the six years Wilson spent in Libya he made millions of dollars as Libya's arms merchant, and who knows what else. He was ready to sell Qaddafi anything he wanted, from atomic weapons to Green Beret sergeants (to train Libyan guerrillas). Tens of thousands of dollars were regularly paid to his phony corporations. These he deposited into bank accounts around the world, obscuring them with, as Goulden writes, "a maze of false documentation, shadow corporations, Swiss bank accounts, obscure post-office boxes, and other convenience addresses."

While Wilson and his band of thieves and murderers were eventually caught and punished, there is one crime they committed for which there can be no adequate punishment. I refer to the smear job on the CIA they perpetrated by their criminal activities. The events in this book demonstrate how easy it is to do a number on the CIA if you know how to exploit its built-in weaknesses—its need for secrecy and the institutionalized old-school-tie loyalties extended even to the likes of Wilson. I suppose the KGB has always known that.



The relationship between the CIA and Wilson began in 1953, when Wilson became a CIA contract employee following his discharge as a Marine first lieutenant in the Korean War. Wilson's job was to run so-called proprietary companies owned and operated by the CIA, under the cloak of which the CIA was able to conduct covert activities.

Wilson soon pulled his first swindle and was caught. To obtain a large bank loan, Wilson listed on his net-worth statement one of these CIA "cover" companies as his own, a violation not only of CIA regulations but also of federal statutes. Who would ever check? Well, the bank did. However, when the CIA learned about this attempted fraud, Wilson—incredibly—was neither fired, prosecuted, nor disciplined, although, when his contract expired in 1971, it wasn't renewed. To assuage the pain, he was given a "golden handshake" payment of $25,000, which Wilson claimed later was for "special meritorious service." Even more amazingly, the CIA said it would

---

M. D. Aeschliman is a visiting lecturer in English at the University of Virginia and the author of The Restitution of Man: C. S. Lewis and the Case against Scientism.

Arnold Beichman, Visiting Scholar at the Hoover Institution, is a founding member of the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence.

Jeffrey Meyers has just published Disease and the Novel *and* The Craft of Literary Biography. *He is currently working on a book about Robert Lowell and his circle.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM NOTES

☐ More September Titles: *Crime and Human Nature* (Simon & Schuster, $22.95) by James Q. Wilson and Richard J. Herrnstein, argues that certain individuals, as well as the families and groups from which they derive, have a biological predisposition toward criminal behavior that may even be revealed by physique and facial features.

The Workshop of Democracy (Knopf, $24.95), by James MacGregor Burns, is the second volume—following *The Vineyard of Liberty*—in the author's projected series, "The American Experiment," embracing the period from the end of the Civil War to the Great Depression. . . . Robert L. Heilbroner's *The Nature and Logic of Capitalism* (Norton, $15.95) argues that in capitalist societies the search for wealth is a quest for prestige "with its freight of unconscious sexual and emotional needs" (to which the appropriate response may be: "So what?").

Chinese Democracy (Knopf, $22.95), by Andrew J. Nathan, starts with the destruction of the "democracy movement" in 1980 and proceeds to Deng Xiaoping's consolidation of his power and the modernization movement. . . . *In Mao and the Men against Him* (Jonathan Cape/Merrimack, $21.95), Clare Hollingworth, a correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*, depicts the political struggles that attended the deaths of Mao and Chou En-lai in 1976, when she herself was living in Peking.

☐ Coming in October: *God Save This Honorable Court: How the Choice of Justices Can Change Our Lives* (Random House, $17.95), by Laurence H. Tribe, is a study of the appointive process by which Supreme Court Justices have been placed on the Court and of the powerful impact a single judge may wield upon it—and therefore upon contemporary American society as a whole.

☐ Left Over from July: *A Faulkner Chronology* (University Press of Mississippi, $7.95), by Michel Gresset, is a useful—and of itself highly interesting—reference work for admirers, scholarly and otherwise, of America's greatest novelist. —CW

---

do nothing to prevent Wilson from obtaining employment elsewhere in the government. With his official record unblemished, Wilson had no trouble sowing rumors, with a wink and a nod in the right places, that he was really still working for the CIA.

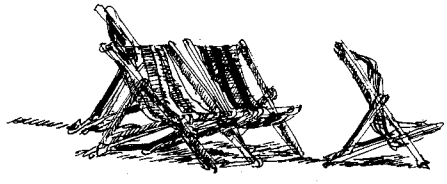
The next episode really makes you wonder what kind of security checks intelligence agencies make on prospective employees. Unbelievably, a few days after he left the CIA, Wilson signed on as a contract employee with an even more secret intelligence outfit. This was a special unit of the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI), "Task Force 157," whose job was to create proprietary companies in port cities throughout the world. ONI agents were assigned to these companies to develop sources among dockworkers, seamen, even waterfront prostitutes to keep an eye on Communist-bloc shipping.

For Wilson, TF-157 was the perfect vehicle in which to ride back into the intelligence business. He proposed the creation of a company that would trade in commodities throughout the world. All he asked was a nominal salary plus expenses. His major earnings, if any, would come from whatever profits the proprietary company might earn.

Then Wilson played a trump card, his impressive contacts—two brigadier generals, one major general, and two CIA executives. The TF-157 commander was so impressed that he put Wilson on the payroll at $35,000 a year, not bad for a nominal salary in those days.

So now flying the pennant of Navy legitimacy, Wilson collected a bunch of retired military officers who were guaranteed a percentage of any contracts they might help him obtain through their own sources abroad. All went well for Wilson for five years, during which he accumulated a small fortune, some $2 million, perhaps more. And then he stumbled.

Rear Admiral Bobby Ray Inman, described by Goulden (and with no exaggeration) as possessing "a staggeringly brilliant mind in conceiving how technology can be used in intelligence," came into Wilson's life. Inman, then head of the ONI, was a shrewd administrator who in 1976, in the post-Watergate era, was worrying about possible abuses that could be committed by ONI proprietary companies. One day, Inman showed up at the office of Senator John McClellan to answer questions about the Navy's F-16 fighter program. As Inman, having offered his testimony, started to depart, McClellan said one of his aides wanted to lunch with Inman. Who should accompany McClellan's aide to lunch but Wilson, who said to Inman, "I work for you. I run a couple of cover companies for one of your task forces." And then Wilson and McClellan's aide, according to Goulden, made what was tantamount to a bribe offer.



Upon returning to his office, Inman ran a check on Wilson. Within a week, he ordered all contracts with the Wilson companies terminated. Wilson's good friends in the Senate—McClellan, John Stennis, and Strom Thurmond—protested Inman's dismissal of their good ole boy right up to the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of Naval Operations. Inman refused to back down, and so in April 1976 Wilson was kicked out into the cold. That didn't stop Wilson, though. He simply *pretended* to have intelligence connections.

In 1981, Inman became deputy director of the CIA. One of his first actions was to check into how and why Wilson had survived as long as he had in the CIA and, further, why he had been allowed to go on claiming a CIA connection even after it had finally been severed. Inman found pretty quickly that the in-house CIA probe had been a joke. It was the old business of the CIA and its self-inflicted wounds. We have Admiral Inman to thank that the Wilson charlatanry didn't turn out even worse for American intelligence than it did.

Goulden has written an absorbing story about the intelligence world and what can go wrong when the wrong people get into the business. And there is always the mystery of human behavior. According to Raffio, "had Ed [Wilson] stayed legitimate, we could all have walked away from Libya rich. The money was there, and the Libs were willing to spend it. But Ed had to cheat on everything, even the legitimate deals."

Wilson, six foot four, a man with a powerful personality and imagination, an excess of charm and a good brain, could have been a major figure in intelligence, not to mention other fields of endeavor. Somehow he let go that inner control which anyone with power and the right to secret knowledge must have. An old story, *hubris* versus conscience. And Wilson lost. ☐

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY

Jeffrey Hart

The Airman and the Carpenter, by Ludovic Kennedy (Viking, 438 pp., $18.95)

WAS IT THE 1932 kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby in Hopewell, New Jersey, that made holding a child for ransom a trademark crime of the 1930s? Maybe so. My own parents, as I look back on the period, seem to have been obsessively concerned with the possibility of a kidnapping. When a nursemaid unexpectedly wheeled my carriage around the block, and I was "missing" for a few minutes, the roof fell in on the nursemaid. When I reported, a few years later, that a man with an Irish setter had chatted with third-graders in the schoolyard, the roof fell in again, and the schoolyard looked like a police convention.

All of this might indeed have flowed from the Lindbergh kidnapping. But there may be more to it than that. Why were the 1930s the great age of child movie stars—Shirley, Freddie, Mickey, Dickie, and all the rest? *Tender Is the Night* reflects to some historical point on that question. Or, perhaps, kidnapping, along with bank robbery, appealed to Depression-conditioned have-nots as a way of striking directly at wealth.

At any rate, for those born, like Ludovic Kennedy, around 1930 the Hauptmann trial remains a distant but compelling memory. Five years old at the time, I remember Gabriel Heatter's excited radio reports from the trial scene in Trenton, broadcasts that elevated Heatter to stardom, paving the way for him to become one of the great radio voices of World War II ("And the sky over England is not in Hitler's hands tonight"). By the time of the trial just about everyone believed Hauptmann was guilty. The jury convicted him, and he went expeditiously to the chair. But *was* he guilty?

The answer seems to be almost certainly not.

The problems here are of the greatest interest, psychologically and historically. The Hauptmann case is not one of those boring ideological matters in which the Left struggles to show that some convicted killer or Soviet spy was framed. The Hauptmann case is not ideological but mythic in its meaning, involving a man who, since his 1927 flight to Paris, had been a colossal public hero, the supreme individual, who was in fact a genuinely admirable person, and up against him an immigrant carpenter perceived as a man of the masses who had struck from the social depths at the god and his offspring. Hero and villain were easy to identify. What is more, behind the trial loomed the figure of Hitler: Hauptmann was known as Richard to his wife and all of his friends, but the prosecutors and the press used the more German-sounding "Bruno."

Almost a decade ago, the investigative reporter Anthony Scaduto published a book on the case called *Scapegoat* in which he argued strongly for Hauptmann's innocence. The book attracted some attention but did not force a serious reassessment of the famous case. Because Ludovic Kennedy's book is less anti-establishment in its tone it may well succeed in doing that, and certainly deserves to.

The most damaging evidence against Hauptmann was his possession of the Lindbergh ransom money: He was apprehended when he tried to pass one of the bills. His own account of how he came into possession of the money invited skepticism. It had been given to him for safekeeping, he maintained, by a shadowy character named Isidor Fisch, who, by the time of the trial, had died in Germany. Hauptmann had been involved in business transactions with Fisch, who, in turn, almost certainly had criminal contacts.

But, apart from that, the state's case against Hauptmann goes up in smoke. The state police, as is evident from photographs of the pertinent time sheets, tampered with evidence that showed Hauptmann to have been on the job as a carpenter many miles from Hopewell on the day of the kidnapping. The authorities came up with a local deadbeat and notorious liar who testified that he had seen Hauptmann in Hopewell; the witness had been bribed. Handwriting evidence was faked by the police. A newspaper reporter, in search of a big scoop, himself wrote an incriminating phone number on the wall of Hauptmann's Bronx property. The claim that the lumber for the ladder used in the kidnapping came from a board at the Hauptmann property was entirely bogus, and the ladder itself could hardly have been the artifact of a professional carpenter.

It lights up in the dark!

Rand McNally Presents Mercury—
A World-Class Relief Globe

A globe is like an encyclopedia or Bible—no educated home is complete without it. Maps are all very well and good, but only the three-dimensionality of a globe can accurately represent the shape and proportions of our planet.

Now Rand McNally has designed the Mercury Relief Globe, a magnificently detailed, 18"-tall model of the world. And it's available for only $29.95! Never before has such a high-quality globe been sold at such a low price.

An Earthshaking Bargain at Only $29.95

The Mercury offers features you just won't find on a conventional globe. It's made of attractive, durable polystyrene and shows the earth's topography, elevations, vegetation patterns, ocean currents, international date line and more. The globe contains 2,351 place names, from the tallest peaks to the tiniest islands!

As if all that weren't enough, the Mercury GLOWS IN THE DARK, revealing national boundaries and country names printed in contrasting solid colors. And so, the globe can serve as a night light for your child while teaching him about geography at the same time!

The *Free* Globe Handbook
Gives You a World of Information

To ensure that you get the full enjoyment out of your Mercury, we're including a full-color handbook that tells how to use the globe and explains earth-space relationships, the planets, and more.

© 1985 Barnes & Noble Bookstores, Inc.

SINCE 1873 **Barnes & Noble** BOOKSTORES — BY MAIL ONLY

DEPT. G 163,126 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011

1171875. Please send me ___ Mercury illuminated Globe(s) at your special sale price of only $29.95 (plus $3.00 each shipping and insurance). N.Y. and N.J. residents, please add sales tax.

✓ **Check one** ☐ Payment enclosed
☐ MasterCard ☐AMEX ☐VISA

Account# _____ Exp.___

Signature _____

Offer good only in continental U.S.A.

Please allow 3-5 weeks for delivery.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

For Faster Service
Credit Card Customers Call Toll Free
1-800-228-3535
24 Hours-7 Days a week In Nebraska 1-800-642-9606

30 DAY MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All accounts of the trial agree that Hauptmann was sent to the chair by the testimony of Colonel Lindbergh himself, whose very presence in the courtroom was overwhelming. Lindbergh claimed that he had heard a voice speak three words from a block away in the cemetery when the ransom money was passed, and he affirmed that the voice was Hauptmann's. Ludovic Kennedy does not go into the subsequent extensive legal discussion of the evidentiary value of that testimony, but the virtually unanimous opinion of scholars is that it should have been thrown out. In my own judgment, Lindbergh—whose honesty cannot be questioned—had been persuaded that Hauptmann was the killer, was determined that he would not escape punishment, and believed sincerely in his impossible voice identification. The governor of New Jersey, though full of doubts about Hauptmann's guilt, did not have the legal power to set aside the verdict or the sentence, and Hauptmann himself went to his death affirming his innocence.

My belief is that the kidnapping was the work of a gang of some sort. It is possible that this group had something to do with Isidor Fisch, but we probably will never know. Everyone—the Lindbergh family, the New Jersey politicians, and the state police—wanted a solution to the outrageous murder of the hero's son, and the likelihood is that, to use Scaduto's language, they found a "scapegoat." For much of the trial Hauptmann seems to have regarded the case against him as so flimsy that he could not take it seriously.

Hauptmann's widow, Anna, and his son Manfred are living and would like to see him vindicated. Lindbergh's widow, Anne, who cooperated with Mr. Kennedy, is open-minded about the case. □

HISTORY FOR STATESMEN

Joseph Sobran

The Wisdom of Statecraft: Sir Herbert Butterfield and the Philosophy of International Politics, by Alberto R. Coll (Duke, 173 pp., $25)

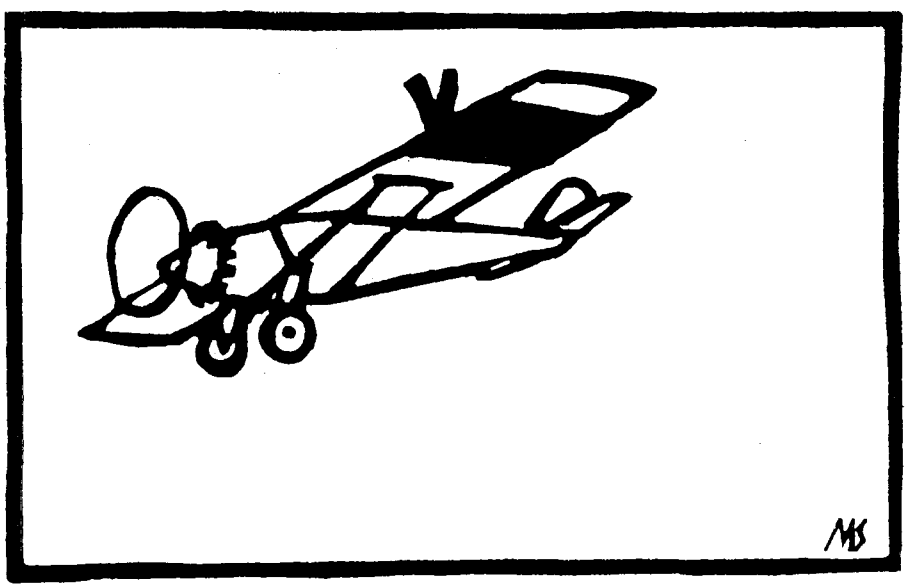
If Arnold Toynbee had a philosophy of history, Herbert Butterfield had a more modest philosophy of *doing* history: Tell the story, don't try to make a final judgment, seek to understand the past as it understood itself. For him history was a matter of careful reconstruction, not grand generalizations. Not that he objected to philosophies of history; he merely thought them distinct from the activity of the historian as such, and he denied that the technical historian has any special competence to render moral judgment on the past.

In his famous credo, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (1931), Butterfield decried the tendency of most historians, typified by Macaulay, to see all history as a continuous saga of improvement, culminating in the present. Those features of the present that we regard as the fruits of progress, such as religious freedom, often arose, Butterfield argued, as the unintended results of struggles in which none of the contending parties either foresaw or imagined (let alone hoped for) what was to come. As a devout Methodist, Butterfield believed that Providence had almost discernibly brought good out of evil, but Goodness was never a character in the story the historian had to tell. Progress, for Butterfield, was more nearly the residue of tremendous waste than the achievement of human designs.

Butterfield did have a philosophy of history of sorts, and it can be summed up in the word *irony*. Events always fool those who are too sure of destiny's course. The study of history, therefore, should teach humility and self-effacement.

In *The Wisdom of Statecraft*, an often luminous account of Butterfield's work and thought, Alberto R. Coll argues that Butterfield, for all his warnings about drawing glib lessons from the past, did believe that there were real lessons to be drawn; or rather, perhaps, that the mentality proper to the historian, more eager to understand than to judge, could be invaluable to the statesman. The historian is engaged in an austere kind of appreciation—always trying to imagine what was once real, to put himself into the shoes of remote people, to entertain views he can't actually share. The statesman who can do all this can avoid pride and overconfidence, prepare for contingencies, and deal creatively and magnanimously with adversaries abroad.

Professor Coll points to two of Butterfield's most surprising revisions of widely accepted views: first, that Machiavelli was no ruthlessly clear-headed "modern" but a somewhat impractical cynic who looked too much at antiquity for models and whose contemporary judgments were usually mistaken; and, second, that Richelieu was a highly responsible statesman whose keen moral sense was also a practical asset. Unlike the Florentine, Richelieu understood that brutality was usually self-defeating; his *raison d'état*, far from implying Machiavellian coldness, expressed his awareness of what Coll terms "the grammar of power." According to Butterfield, Richelieu understood that the statesman has to act on a special plane, where an action that might be criminal for a private man can become a contribution to the general good.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Butterfield's outlook was greatly influenced by St. Augustine. He saw man as enmeshed in sin. Though he distinguished carefully between nations and their ruling regimes, it was not for the purpose of exculpating ordinary people by making scapegoats of their rulers; he thought common people bore most of the responsibility for wars. A Hitler might be extremely wicked, but his wickedness couldn't serve as a causal explanation of events. And though he was no determinist, Butterfield put great emphasis on the necessity for the statesman to know which circumstances were and which were not subject to human control, so that one might, in the old phrase, "cooperate with Providence."

Butterfield's belief in universal sin made him critical of American conduct in the cold war. He thought the United States was excessively moralistic and self-righteous, too willing to identify itself with high principle and to sacrifice millions of lives in nuclear war for abstractions. At one point he even called for unilateral nuclear disarmament by the West—a position he later retracted. As Coll says, he opposed "ideological wars," believing that diplomacy should stick to traditional concerns of territory and economics, and skip the moral pretensions. He may have had a point, but his views were in some respects questionable. He thought Communism was a superficial layer over the traditional Russian Empire; in fact he thought the Communists were more prudent than the czars. If czarist Russia had lasted, he argued, it would have proved even more dangerous to the West than the Soviets. Even so, he admitted frankly that the disarmament he recommended would probably result in the Soviet subjugation of Western Europe—an evil he justified only as preferable to the total horror of nuclear war.

It is in this area that Coll thinks Butterfield's thought has special pertinence for present-day conservatives. The intrinsic evil of Communism is not in question here. Coll acknowledges that Butterfield's disarmament spell was "astonishing," an "un-Augustinian flight from the tragedy of politics and power." Nevertheless, he holds that American conservatives tend to deal with Communism imprudently and are "too attached to the Messianic strain in their nation's heritage, too devoted to the Wilsonian dream of transforming the world in America's image, to accept the foreign policy of sober judgment, confident patience, and a discriminating exercise of power" that Butterfield counseled.

He may be right about our faults, but, if he agrees with Butterfield, he is wrong about the nature of Communism. Nobody can be sure what the czars would have been like had they continued; but they were Christians, and there is always the chance of convincing a Christian that he is sinning—which can't be said of a Marxist-Leninist. It is also hard to imagine (say) Cuba being turned into a miniature of czarist Russia, or a band of rebels wanting to install a czar in Nicaragua.

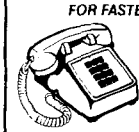
The chief fault of this thoughtful book is that it leaves "ideology" an unanalyzed concept. Kenneth Minogue has described ideologies as "technologies of social destruction"—maybe an inadequate definition, but a fine description of Soviet Communism. The Soviet Union is radically different from old Russia. The czars weren't intent on subverting and destroying what they would conquer, nor did they preside over an economic system so morbid that it could continue to exist *only* by conquest. A czar might be aggressive; he could also refrain from aggression, however, because destroying the entire non-czarist order beyond Russia was not czarism's *raison d'être* and practical necessity.

Given the Soviet presence in the world, the rest of the world is doomed to ideological warfare. It is not a matter of choice. If a Moslem power declares a *jihad* against you, you are in a religious war whether you like it or not. You can't avoid it by declaring yourself agnostic; that may in fact be the original provocation. And it is no good telling your enemy that war will hurt his people and his economy as much as yours; his whole advantage is that he doesn't mind such secular costs, and you do. It may even egg him on to hear you lamenting the cost.

Of all people, Butterfield should have understood this, with his broad powers of empathy and imagination. But he may have been too conservative to grasp the radicalism of the age he lived in. Caution and conservatism are two different things, and even a fanatic may be cautious in his way; if the Soviets are cautious, we needn't conclude that they are conservatives under the skin. □

27th year
Nicola Paone
ITALIAN RESTAURANT
"Regarding regional cooking... if it's Italian, and it's good... *that's* Italian!"—*Nicola Paone*
A new creation from *Nicola Paone*—low caloric "Tusiani" salad (and other specialties)
LUNCH 12–1:30 DINNER 5–9:30
MONDAY–FRIDAY
SATURDAY DINNER ONLY
Private room available
207 East 34th Street • New York
(212) 889-3239
Jacket and tie required
Closed Aug. 19–Sept. 2.

FREE
UNCIRCULATED BICENTENNIAL EISENHOWER DOLLAR

The Numismatic Guild will send you a FREE Uncirculated Bicentennial Eisenhower Dollar when you send for a one year subscription to our catalogs. Also, you will become a member of The Guild and receive a "Preferred Member" card giving access to special offerings. In addition you will receive an informative bimonthly Newsletter on the latest developments in the coin markets. We offer the finest in rare United States Gold and Silver Coins for the Investor or Collector. Send $3.00 to: THE NUMISMATIC GUILD, Dept. NR-300, 35 West 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.
FOR FASTEST DELIVERY - CREDIT CARD HOLDERS

CALL TOLL FREE
1-800-847-4100
(212-947-7022 in New York State)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MENS MAGNA IN CORPORE MAGNO

M. D. Aeschliman

As I Was Saying: A Chesterton Reader, edited by Robert Knille (Eerdmans, 314 pp., $18.95)

THE GREATNESS of the greatest English literature is that it is not merely or mainly English, but that it is the aqueduct over and through which passes the living water of the humane and Godly tradition. One of the greatest of English writers, G. K. Chesterton, wrote: "The problem of an enduring ethic and culture consists in finding an arrangement of the pieces by which they remain related, as do the stones arranged in an arch. And I know only one scheme that has thus proved its solidity, bestriding lands and ages with its gigantic arches, and carrying everywhere the high river of baptism upon an aqueduct of Rome."

But this *romanità*, this catholicism, is not "sectarian," though it is religious in origin and nature. The universality of Aristotle and Aquinas is also that of Johnson and Newman, of Maritain, Eliot, and Lewis, and, perhaps pre-eminently in our century, of Chesterton himself. He became a Roman Catholic only at the age of 48, in 1922. Yet it was clear from very early on that he was catholic, that he was orthodox, that he was, in the words of C. S. Lewis, one of his greatest disciples, a "mere Christian." Of orthodoxy he wrote in his book of that name in 1908 that "God and humanity made it and it made me."

As English a figure as Chesterton is, he was always a "little Englander," a patriot who hated British imperialism and loved other countries too, not least when they were small and embattled, like the Boer Republic and Ireland and Poland. Never a nationalist, he nevertheless believed, like Solzhenitsyn today, that the particularity of peoples and nation-states has some place in the providential economy of God. He particularly hated bullies and bullying, whether by plutocrats or nations or ideas ("I do not like inevitable triumphs"), and the gallery of his foes honors him: materialism, scientism, social Darwinism, statism, aestheticism, plutocracy (rule by "the richest and most successful rascals"), imperialism, German militarism, Communism; and a deeply and steadily pondered view of life enabled him to see the connections between these heresies. Hannah Arendt has credited him with being one of the few men in pre-1914 Europe to see through both the fraud of middle-brow progressivism and imperialism and the fecklessness of post-Victorian high-brow scientism, aestheticism, and decadence. "Earnest freethinkers need not worry themselves," he wrote in 1905, "about the persecutions of the past. Before the liberal idea is dead or triumphant we shall see wars and persecutions the like of which the world has never seen." And we did.

In the aftermath of World War I many a chastened or hung-over modern began "shoring fragments against our ruin," while Chesterton continued to see steadily and see whole; no fragment he, but a part of the continent, a piece of the main, combining with unique and profound power the moral earnestness and gravity of the great Victorians, into whose world he had been born in 1874 and about whom he wrote a great book, with a metaphysical wit and levity reminiscent of St. Francis, the *jongleurs de Dieu*, and St. Thomas More. He answered an irritated critic of his "grave levity" in this way: "Mr. McCabe thinks that I am not serious but only funny, because Mr. McCabe thinks that funny is the opposite of serious [whereas] funny is the opposite of not funny, and of nothing else." Chesterton had what he attributed to Dickens, "a certain gigantic conviviality and cordiality." Of Dickens Chesterton also wrote something else true of himself: "He saw that there was a secret thing, called humanity, to which both extreme socialism and extreme individualism were profoundly and inexpressibly indifferent, and that this permanent and presiding humanity was the thing he happened to understand."

Chesterton wrote his great book and prefaces on Dickens just after the turn of the century, at the low point of the novelist's critical reputation, and insisted on his pre-eminent greatness among the English writers of the nineteenth century. One of the finest literary scholars of our day, Steven Marcus, insists that Chesterton's judgment has been "verified" and that "it was his rare good privilege to have made this judgment, alone, at such an early date." Chesterton's literary criticism, writes a major modern poet and critic, "abounds in . . . observations which, once they have been made, seem so obviously true that one cannot understand why one had not seen them for oneself." This is W. H. Auden speaking, but to his verdict we could easily add the testimony of a host of other eminent modern writers and thinkers, including Graham Greene (who thinks *The Ballad of the White Horse* a greater poem than *The Waste Land*).

Chesterton's universality explains his appeal across national and linguistic lines, as well as across specialist categories. I have seen Italian students reading the Father Brown stories in Italian; a framed Chesterton poem hangs in a Polish cathedral. Volumes of Chesterton are much in demand on the black market behind the Iron Curtain, along with those of Solzhenitsyn, Orwell, and Berdyaev.

Chesterton faced and wrestled with the terrible solipsism of Emerson, Nietzsche, and the aesthetes, and he faced and struggled against the opposing error, scientific materialism, without succumbing to either; thus he stands as perhaps the only major modern writer to preserve the sanity of an "undissociated sensibility." Of the "pluralization" and "relativization" of the modern world he wrote: "And the typically modern men are mainly proud of having thus torn up the original unity of the religious idea. Ethics for ethics' sake and art for art's sake are like the tatters of what was once the seamless robe. They have parted his garments among them, and for his vesture they have cast lots."

As an introduction to one of the greatest and sanest of all writers, Robert Knille's collection, *As I Was Saying: A Chesterton Reader*, is exemplary, drawing judiciously from the vast body of Chesterton's work—essays, poems, stories, novels, and nonfiction works of great power and insight such as *Orthodoxy*, *The Everlasting Man*, *St. Thomas Aquinas*, *St. Francis of Assisi*, and *Charles Dickens*. Knille does not reprint the fine essay "On Reading" (from *The Common Man*), which, with the "Epilogue" of C. S. Lewis's *Experiment in Criticism*, provides the finest short defense of the literary enterprise that I have ever read; but other great essays such as "On Man: Heir of All the Ages," "The Revival of Philosophy," and "If

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I Had Only One Sermon to Preach" are included, as well as a wealth of excerpts. No one has done more to help transmit the great canon of English literature than has Chesterton, and yet he has himself not much benefited from inclusion in it; his work doesn't fit easily into the sequences of literary period, thought, and fashion, nor into genre study. Is he a historian, a philosopher, a theologian, an apologist, a poet (the last truly popular poet in the English language, according to Samuel Hynes), a literary critic, a journalist, an essayist, a moralist, or perhaps the "fabulous griffin" that he said he was sometimes treated as being?

The truth is that he was all of these, and more. He was a very great man with a very great soul and voice and an enormous frame: "*mens magna in corpore magno.*" To adapt the fine words of the Australian poet McAuley, Chesterton "scorned to darken and contract / The landscape of the heart / By individual, arbitrary, / And self-expressive art"; his speech and writing were "ordered wholly / By an intellectual love" and he "elucidated the carnal maze / With clear light from above." Walter de la Mare's elegy memorably catches him in that light, the light of the glory that it was his duty and delight always to reflect:

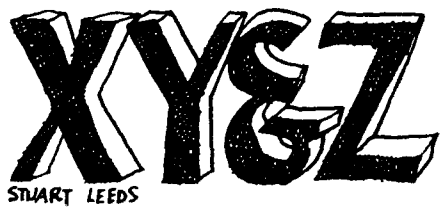
Knight of the Holy Ghost, he goes his way,
Wisdom his motley, truth his loving jest.
The mills of Satan keep his lance in play.
Pity and innocence his heart at rest. □

MISTRESS OF PARADOX

Jeffrey Meyers

Occasional Prose, by Mary McCarthy (Harcourt, Brace, 341 pp., $17.95)

MARY MCCARTHY is the American Rebecca West. Both writers are lucid, intelligent, incisive; severe, irreverent, committed. Both have a steady moral seriousness and a wide range of interests, and are equally at home in art or history. Like Miss West, and also like most contemporary American novelists—Mailer, Baldwin, Updike, Vidal, Capote, Gass, Theroux, Oates—Miss McCarthy is better at nonfiction,



which permits her to strengthen her work through the discipline of fact, while using novelistic techniques to describe character and setting.

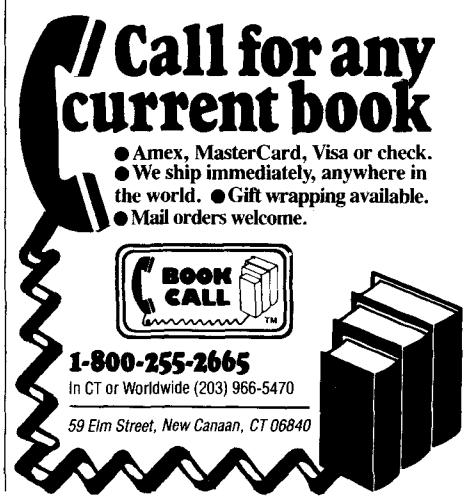
These essays have a common manner and style, but are rather arbitrarily arranged. They would be more effective if they were divided into sections on literature and politics, as in her collection *On the Contrary*, and if she had placed together the essays on Nicola Chiaromonte and on F. W. Dupee, whose amusing and observant flashes of insight exemplify her own best qualities. Miss McCarthy, now a septuagenarian *éminence grise*, has mellowed considerably. We miss, in these remarkably unvituperative essays, her impressive ferocity. She loyally overrates Philip Rahv (once her lover) and Hannah Arendt (whom she unaccountably calls "a beautiful woman"). The only negative essay is on Joan Didion's novel *Democracy*.

There are a few lapses in the book. Miss McCarthy writes that the Great War produced only a single major novel in English, Frederic Manning's *The Middle Parts of Fortune*, and seems unaware of Ford's *Parade's End*, Aldington's *Death of a Hero*, and David Jones's *In Parenthesis*. She discusses the paucity of present-day expatriate writers, but does not mention Robert Graves and Gerald Brenan in Spain, Anthony Burgess in Monaco, and V. S. Naipaul in London. And she makes some strange assertions about Hemingway. He actually went to Paris in 1921, lived as a journalist, and did not receive royalties from Scribner's until 1927. He *did* have problems with censorship: "Up in Michigan" was excluded from the Liveright edition of *In Our Time*, and *A Farewell to Arms* was banned in both Boston and Italy. And it seems odd to remark that Hemingway is a more elitist writer than, say, Henry James.

The longest and least substantial piece was prompted by the Metropolitan Opera's commission to tell "in her own words" the story of *La Traviata*: "On the theme of that pure maiden, Germont waxes eloquent." Miss McCarthy mentions that Violetta is devoured by passion and consumption, but she does not place Verdi's opera in its context by discussing the mystique of tuberculosis, which extends from Schiller and Keats to Orwell and Simone Weil, and reaches its literary and operatic apotheoses in *La dame aux camélias* and *Traviata*.

The four lectures in this collection were probably more impressive when heard than when read. The most perverse talk—on art forgery (portrayed in Wyndham Lewis's *The Revenge for Love*), acquisitiveness (portrayed in D. H. Lawrence's "Things"), and museums—has an elitist bias but offers no solutions. Miss McCarthy argues that museums make art all but inaccessible, that "once a work of art enters a museum, instead of belonging to everybody, it belongs to nobody." She feels it is essential to be alone in order to commune with a work of art and that the presence of a crowd is a sacrilegious intrusion. Yet this difficulty does not prevent people from praying in a cathedral.

Most of the essays are filled with shrewd insights, informed by the metaphor of theater and unified by the theme of paradox. In "Language and Politics," strongly influenced by Orwell's "Politics and the English Language," Miss McCarthy observes that the Watergate politicians "would not know *how* to tell the truth if an occasion favoring truth-telling should arise." The playwright Pirandello is "locked into a set of once-current notions and sealed off from posterity as though in a time capsule"; "nobody breaking with Stalinism ever seemed to suffer regrets"; gardening, like love-making, "confronts us with the inexplicable."


Call for any current book
● Amex, MasterCard, Visa or check.
● We ship immediately, anywhere in the world. ● Gift wrapping available.
● Mail orders welcome.
BOOK CALL
1-800-255-2665
In CT or Worldwide (203) 966-5470
59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In a brilliant report on the war games of street protest during the demonstration against the Vietnam War in London in 1968, Miss McCarthy exposes a series of paradoxes. The would-be tragedy turned into a comedy of manners. "The Trotskyists, in slogans and stance to the left of the Maoists, in practice were to the right of them." The police practiced passive resistance and the crowd created its own police force.

Miss McCarthy writes that while so many Soviet citizens were trying to leave the country, "Solzhenitsyn insisted on his right to stay *and* to receive the Nobel Prize." And in the best essay in the book, a masterly analysis of Solzhenitsyn's complex novel *August 1914*, she shows how the Soviet writer, despite the profound influence of Tolstoy, opposes the master's view of history: He "holds that leadership is determining in war and uses examples from the tragic Eastern campaign to prove it." □

FILM

TANGLED WEB

John Simon

THE SUMMER has acquired its second allegedly adult hit with *Kiss of the Spider Woman*, hailed as a masterpiece by Janet Maslin of the *New York Times* and acclaimed with resounding enthusiasm by reams of other reviewers. True, it is one of the two or three films these dog days that do not address themselves directly to adolescents of all ages, but from this to the nonstop greatness Miss Maslin and her ilk perceive in it is a longer way than to Tipperary. Hector Babenco's film adaptation, with a screenplay by Leonard Schrader, of Manuel Puig's novel is the reduction of a fairly clever piece of high camp to a cross between substandard Hollywood and rather low camp. But the supposed seriousness of the theme, the exotic locale, and the homoerotic orientation (William Hurt's performance as an outrageous but eventually heroic queen won a best-actor award in Cannes, where cinematic awards seem to be determined by a spin of the roulette wheel) give the film all the cachet needed for reviewers to start gibbering about genius.

Babenco, an Argentine-born Brazilian filmmaker, scored an honest success with *Pixote*, an unassuming, gritty, mostly unsentimental film about the garish world of a sweet little juvenile delinquent who coasts, almost blithely, from horror to greater horror. The home-movieish aspects of *Pixote* (and they were many) actually made for authenticity, much as early Italian neorealism profited from its filmmakers' ingenuousness and impecuniousness. *Kiss of the Spider Woman* was made on a low budget, too—though perhaps not so low for São Paulo, where it was shot—but it aspires to a professional slickness it fails to achieve.

The novel first. Puig's work is almost all dialogue, more precisely duologue between cellmates in a Buenos Aires prison. Valentín Arregui, a young left-wing activist from an upper-bourgeois family, shares a cell with Luis Molina, a 37-year-old homosexual window dresser, given eight years for corrupting a minor. There are no descriptions; whatever we know emerges, or can be inferred, from their conversation. This includes detailed recountings by Molina of movies he loved, which he relates with occasional embroideries to his cellmate, who (lucky fellow!) was too busy making revolution to attend movies. But these narrated indulgences, in which Valentín participates by adding his own interpretations and embroiderings, help while away the time for both men, and also conjure up other worlds and hopes of freedom. Valentín forgets the tortures he has undergone and may again undergo; Molina stops worrying about his beloved, ailing mother. On the wings of movie kitsch, the prisoners escape their cell and, eventually, fly into each other's arms.

The novel has technical ingenuity. Five films are retold: *Cat People*; a Nazi propaganda film, *Her Real Glory*; *The Enchanted Cottage*—though this one, too sentimental for Valentín, becomes an interior monologue of Molina's; a lurid Hollywood horror film about voodoo and zombies, with a happy ending; and a Mexican love story with songs, a sentimental melodrama with an unhappy ending. There are variations: One narrative is interrupted by bits of interior monologue of uncertain relevance and provenance (Luis's? Valentín's?); all narratives, like the dialogue itself, are interlarded with lengthy footnotes, mostly summaries of conflicting theories about homosexuality, from Freud to the present day.

There are other interruptions. Also in dialogue form, but more theatrical, are talks between Molina and the warden; near the end, there is a lengthy police report on the surveillance of Molina, now freed, with the spies baffled by homosexual smalltalk (Puig's little joke); finally another, quite different, monologue: a dream of Valentín's after renewed torture and a surreptitious shot of morphine administered by a kindly doctor. Out of these disparate strands, Puig weaves a thing of droll and touching rags and pretentious patches (e.g., the footnotes, not so much distancing devices as special pleading, a Marcusean defense of polymorphous perversity) and the ultimate banality of the well-known homosexual wish-fulfillment fantasy: getting a "real man," i.e., a very masculine heterosexual, to become your bona-fide lover.

To do him justice, Puig handles this unrealistic material with a certain resourcefulness. He uses any number of devices to suggest the merging, first, of the fantasies of the heterosexual and the homosexual, and then, gradually, of their psyches and bodies. At last,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sexual union is meant to yield a humanizing fusion, whereby the masculine heterosexual is temporarily converted to sensitive homosexuality while the feminine homosexual achieves a spiritual virility, indeed heroism, and so each man grows in stature. Valentín's concluding dream, though perfectly heterosexual, nevertheless subsumes Luis's romantic, feminine, B-movie sensibility, viewed as an enriching element.

In the movie, thanks partly to a poor script, but partly also to the inapposite assertiveness of the visual medium, crudities and preposterousnesses proliferate. The action has been shifted from Buenos Aires to São Paulo, but dictatorships are interchangeable, and if the prison staple switches from rice to beans, no matter. Yet even in the book there were absurdities. For example, when the prison authorities want to make Valentín sick, they put much more rice (or beans) on one plate, and assume that the stronger man will take the larger portion. But Valentín gives it to Molina, who, although aware that it is poisoned, has to eat it, lest Valentín become suspicious. But what is there about rice (or beans) that makes portions indivisible? Why couldn't Valentín, upon Molina's urging, simply even out the size of the helpings? And when Molina eats the poisoned rice, he gets cramps, but not diarrhea; whereas, later on, when Valentín is similarly poisoned, he gets the worst possible case of the runs. Puig needs this, to give Molina a chance to play good Samaritan, but the diverse symptoms do not make clinical sense.

The film, however, is chock full of such illogic, starting with the principals' cell, a spacious, semi-private affair, bigger than most New York studio apartments. Molina, not a drag queen in the book, becomes one in the movie; he has turned his half of the cell into something like a bordello, and wears outré feminine gladrags much of the time without, it seems, incurring brutalization from the macho guards. The São Paulo police force is apparently three or four men strong —we see the same ones repeatedly; and even a high-ranking officer is reduced to chasing after Molina in the streets. When Molina is released, he and his homosexual friends go to a gay bar, where one of them works as a female impersonator; in the novel, nothing so blatant. The final pursuit of Molina and his death are written and directed so you don't know what's going on or how to interpret anything. If Luis doesn't know he is being followed, why does he keep looking at his pursuers; if he does, why does he lead them to the revolutionaries? His death is staged with surpassing hamminess, with allusions to Christ abounding.

But, then, whatever has been added to the book to open it up and make it more cinematic is either nonsense or sheer platitude. Thus the scene with Marta, Valentín's upper-class girlfriend (played, along with the two other main female roles, by Sonia Braga, who is too old and ravaged-looking), is pure persiflage. Valentín and two comrades are arrested in a subway station after he has given his passport to a leading revolutionary to escape with; but Valentín and the escaping revolutionary are so unalike in age and looks that the gesture is useless. Later, the man who is presumed to have escaped is put in the same prison as Valentín, who is supposed to see him from his cell and communicate this to his friends on the outside and so betray them. But the jailers always lead their new victim about with a black hood over his head, so he won't know his torturers; as a result, Valentín doesn't recognize him. But 1) torturers are too arrogant to worry about their victims' recognizing them, 2) other prisoners could easily tell the man who his tormentors are, and 3) how much brains does it take to figure out that Valentín doesn't have X-ray eyes?

And so on. But Schrader and Babenco's biggest mistake is to show only one of the five movies Molina relates to Valentín: the Nazi propaganda film. As Babenco crosscuts to bits of this film, we should see something glamorous that initially caught Luis's fancy and that he enhances with his own embellishments to triumph over dreary reality. Instead, we see a seedy, camped-up piece of shoestring filmmaking, mostly grotesque, in which we watch the love story of a supposedly gorgeous French *chanteuse*, played by the campy and cadaverous Miss Braga, and a dashing SS officer, played by what looks like a bleached-blond, effete male hustler with a collar two sizes too big for him. Furthermore, there is no sense of Valentín's gradually increasing collaboration on these evolving fantasies, which leads to the blending of identities. And the Spider Woman, in the novel, is first a casual reference of Valentín's to Luis, and then part of a psychologically intricate dream sequence. In the movie, she stars in a scene from another film Molina narrates, though this brief, solitary scene cannot carry the burden allotted to it; and the final dream, without the Spider Woman, is flat and trivial.

To top it all, Raul Julia (not bad as Valentín) and William Hurt (who starts out overplaying Molina monstrously, and then settles down to being merely boringly obvious) speak in their own voices—Julia's moderately Hispanic, Hurt's totally unaccented—while the rest of the cast, dubbed in the United States by hack actors with thick Latino accents, is bizarrely inconsistent. Much, if not all, of *Kiss of the Spider Woman* is the kiss of death. □

DELECTATIONS

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

Nika Hazelton

I AM SORRY to report that the food industry is being very mysterious about how it is adapting itself to the inexorable march of technical progress. But I gather that many more ready-to-heat frozen entrées are being served in restaurants throughout the nation than the patrons would like to think, particularly when it comes to restaurants specializing in the fancier cuisines. All sorts of dishes are now produced in boil-in bags. Establishments that use haute-cuisine boil-in-bag food are, of course, especially secretive. I am told that the Brussels Hilton has used the system for two years, and that the Vista in New York is conducting experiments in its Food Research Center.

The advantages of boil-in-bag food? Less waste in cooking, greater portion control (think of all the uneaten food sent back in any restaurant), lower kitchen overhead, and the possibility of obtaining dishes prepared by famous non-resident chefs. The food tastes as if fresh-cooked, they say, if it is carefully reheated; and this claim has been borne out in practice, when people served a fancy boil-in-bag meal were unable to tell that it had not been freshly cooked for them.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What I do wonder is how the famous restaurants and their chefs will come out of all this. Will it mean a reduction in their prestige when, merely by paying a stiff price, you can obtain their creations as take-out food? Is this the reason why so many restaurants nowadays seek to create a scene in which the object is to *be* seen rather than to enjoy a meal you couldn't possibly make at home?

How to keep food fresh—on the shelf or the produce counter—is one of the perpetual problems of the food industry, and it is especially so now, with the widespread aversion to additives and preservatives, the craze for freshness, the preoccupation with health, and the availability of almost everything edible all the year round, without regard to season. According to *Food Engineering* magazine, CAP (controlled atmosphere packaging) is the latest development in the business.

CAP involves treating the item to be packaged with a mixture of gases, formulated to prolong the life of the specific food, which is then vacuum-sealed in plastic. Lettuce has been packed in this way for eight years by one California firm; according to *Food Engineering*, it stays fresh for about two weeks at room temperature, a month or more if stored at temperatures below forty degrees. There are various ways of controlling the atmos-

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

THERE ARE occasions when reviewing books under the above rubric poses certain difficulties, most of them having to do with the dangers of disingenuousness, lack of candor, intellectual dishonesty. If you begin by categorizing a book as "right," how far can you go in criticizing it without making yourself out to be a fool or a liar? To argue that a book is "right" in its heart or intent is literary criticism at its very lowest level; in fact, it is not criticism at all. On the other hand, there is such a thing as the book—and in this post-literate age there are more of them all the time—which, while its ideas are badly expressed, nevertheless points a certain sort of reader in a direction in which few other books will take him. In situations like these, perhaps the most honest service the reviewer can perform is to notice the thing more or less politely, leaving it to the reader to decide for himself whether to pursue it any further.

Victor Hugo wrote of France: "She is the first to awaken, the last to fall asleep. She presses forward. She is a searcher. . . . That is why the torch of Europe, which is civilization, was carried first by Greece, which passed it to Italy, which has passed it to France. Divine pioneering peoples—*vitai lampada tradunt.*" Thirty years before the publication of *Les Misérables* another Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, had suggested that not France but the United States of America would prove both the inspiration and the model for the future: an opinion that was confirmed a century and a half after Tocqueville's book by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, Edgar Morin, and Jean-François Revel, whose conclusions have now been adopted, with attempts at enlargement, by Guy Sorman in *The Conservative Revolution in America* (Regnery Books, Regnery Gateway, Inc., 940 North Shore Drive, Lake Bluff, Ill. 60044; $9.95).

I must say at the start that M. Sorman's book, as published in the American edition by Regnery Books, is one of the worst-written and worst-edited volumes I have read in a long time. Jane Kaplan's translation from the French reads like a high-school dropout's transcription of the English, but the copy editor doesn't seem to have noticed, or perhaps just didn't care. Here are some examples of the Sorman-Kaplan prose, chosen almost at random:

"Several newspaper chains—which Gannett is the best example—function in the same way."

"Anti-Americanism . . . crosses all party lines, and perhaps even each one of us . . ."

"Even though Ronald Reagan was a movie actor, the persons and facts presented here are true to life."

". . . The American Left is exhausted. The crisis is perhaps the only factor, or at least the essential one, which dates this turning point."

"But as of 1978 the world exploded, crystallizing the country's disarray."

And so forth.

What M. Sorman is trying—and at times even managing—to say is that since 1980 the United States, which has never ceased to be at heart a Christian and, therefore, conservative society, has turned against the left-liberal-collectivist-statist trend initiated by Woodrow Wilson, launching a counter-revolution whose primary victory—the election of Ronald Reagan to the Presidency—remains largely symbolic but also full of portent for the coming century. While "the Left reproaches the conservatives for their nostalgia for *[the 1920s] . . . in a way, the conservatives have invented* [does he—or she—mean "re-created"?] that reassuring past," with their neo-federalist, minimalist, and supply-side policies.

"The liberal Left," Sorman argues,

> *had linked its destiny to the era of the masses. . . .* It managed an economy of mass production, based its political power on mass organizations and on means of mass communications. . . . Its whole analysis turned on the deep anguish of the human being in the era of masses; *the fear of insecurity served to justify* the welfare state.
>
> Yet America was the first to emerge from this era. The mass media have been challenged by a new communications revolution, big firms replaced by small ones, the city deserted for the isolated habitat, mass organizations (unions and parties) broken up by special-interest groups. Being a part of the "mass" itself has given way to a resurgence of ethnic cultures. This is the great renaissance of individualism which will also doubtless engender another form of anxiety. But the conservative reply is no longer the welfare state but rather morality, religion, the family, and a taste for risks.

This new American conservative "ideology," already making itself felt in France, is destined to spread throughout Western Europe and beyond, simply because "there are currently no compelling alternatives to it"—just as, over the past fifty years, there have been no compelling alternatives to jazz, chewing-gum, rock 'n' roll, Hollywood, Coca-Cola, blue jeans, and jogging.

M. Sorman, who traveled widely around the U.S. to write this book, really does have something interesting to say. But, with friends like these, who needs publishers? □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

phere inside a package; with all of them, refrigeration seems to be a must, but especially with protein foods like meat and fish. One process has been used so successfully in Great Britain, France, Denmark, and Germany that American food processors are now studying it. As a matter of fact, chicken packed with controlled atmosphere is already being safely marketed here, and according to Professor J. Hotchkiss, a Cornell food scientist, it is a more sanitary product than ice-packed poultry. I agree, having seen the (so-called) ice-packed poultry delivered to many respectable supermarkets.

High technology is also rampant in wine-making, at least where quantities of commercial wine are made, in the U.S. and Europe. Some wineries resemble small oil refineries, with stainless-steel towers, multicolored pipes crisscrossing the sky, computers, chromatographs and spectrometers to analyze the ingredients, and so forth.

I agree it's all necessary, but the unfortunate (at least to me) result is that any food produced so scientifically can never be first-class—although, by the same token, it is also never inedible or undrinkable. (Cheese made from pasteurized milk, as the law now requires it to be in most states, is always good but never great: hence the feeling of triumph when you can find a piece of unpasteurized cheese sneaked in from Canada or France.) Somehow, giant wineries do not seem so odd in California as they do in Germany and Italy, and also in Spain (I have not seen any in France, though they must exist). Even in California, though, they all stress the homey or the exquisite, old-fashioned quality of their wines.

With all of this, I imagine that some people still care how their food tastes—otherwise home cooking would not be so much practiced, what with the availability of fast and take-out foods. Are our future lives going to be divided between eating to live, which we must, and living to eat, which we must not, but want to? □

THE GIMLET EYE

SUMO

D. Keith Mano

SUMO WRESTLING does, well, fascinate. As a heroic goiter might. Or the blazing wen on some derelict's nose. In fact, I watched it from one eye corner: straight-on staring didn't feel polite. No sport combines religion with such consummate vulgarity. These men are human metaphors for climax inflation. So fat they'd be hard put to have an out-of-the-body experience. You ask what we got in exchange for baseball and MacArthur: three days of sumo at Madison Square Garden. Sport dumping to go with car dumping.

Weight hangs differently on an Oriental frame. The buttock is characterless, just more thigh. (Japanese women have puffy, dense ankles and knees.) Caucasian musculature—broad chest, definite bicep and pectoral—is rare. Yet sumo wrestlers are improbably strong: you don't clean-jerk a 350-pound opponent off the ground with cellulite. And they are supple: each can touch chest to floor while doing a full split. Konishiki, the one American (born in Hawaii), is all chafe. Age 21, 498 pounds, and a sensation in Japan: the heaviest sumo ever. He doesn't have a double chin, it's squared, cubed. No Toyota could hold him. "Gee," the woman behind me said, "no wonder their eyes slant."

The Garden audience (ten thousand or so) was awed: a different kind of weight-watching here. Neither athletic technique (too thunderously subtle) nor religious ritual (too dull) engrosses—it is the mass man, nothing else. For an average American, into Lean Cuisine and Pritikin, sumo appears scandalous. These men pig out on purpose. They calorie-count another way—up. There is a flamboyant arrogance to it. Dinner-table records are relished by the P.A. announcer: so and so ate eighty pieces of sushi at one go. It is pure cultural disorientation, or disoccidentalization. And sumo wrestlers, apparently, don't die young of arterial gridlock, they don't disintegrate into a giant lipoid puddle. They're athletic: superstar athletic at that. Anybody who has been intimidated by his doctor or Jane Fonda should see sumo once. Which is about all anyone in New York will see it. Sumo doesn't look to replace hockey or the cat show.

In a culture known for miniaturization, sumo must always have seemed aberrant. Men of such prodigal bulk don't mesh well with bonsai, transistor science, and paper housing. Sumo wrestlers are given special license—a privilege often associated with priesthood. Indeed sumo, the national sport (now replaced by baseball in popularity), has had sacred intonations since it began back around 500 A.D. The *dohyu* or ring sits under a Shinto-shrine-like roof. Primitive combat, it is said, was meant to stimulate crop fertilization. And fatness itself may have represented serene prosperity (Buddha had a great wrestling career ahead of him). Now the ceremonial aspect is, as with some Episcopal services, more colorful than hallowed. Gaudier but less resonant than a seventh-inning stretch.

And long. This sumo theologica can go on and on. Much leg-lift and foot-stomp to discourage evil spirits. Clap and bow. Handful after handful of salt thrown high with grand negligence by these over-seasoned veterans (a *dohyu* purifier). Meanwhile grounds-keeping *yobidashi* will rake and sprinkle dust. The crowd, used to fast-break basketball, got restless at first—until they

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

saw that absolutely nothing would goose these enormous acolytes along (and ritual, mind you, had been abbreviated for Off-Broadway production). Then squat, each man looking—with *mawashi* on (scant loincloth and belt) —like a vast infant stuck in some sort of breeches buoy. And rise again, dab under armpit with holy paper, wash mouth, resalt the *dohyu*, recrouch. It's a little sexier than, oh, *bunraku*. But, at that rate, you wonder anyone got around to attacking Pearl Harbor.

All this foreplay for about ten total seconds in action. Sumo is the sport of anticlimax. It ranks with opening a coconut for general letdown. And at last they charge each other. Often they slap and shove, spiteful patty-cake wise, in an attempt to achieve quick *oshi-dashi* (push-out). Or, stalemated, they clench, bent forward, hand on opposing belt, as if they meant to hike loinwear up. The supreme move is *tsuri-dashi* (lift-out), which will require monstrous carrying capacity.

Dohyus are 15 feet in diameter. The sumo *rikishi* (wrestler) mustn't step out, or touch ground with any non-pedal portion of his frame. There are several sophisticated maneuvers: *tsuki-otoshi* (thrust-down), *shitate-dashinage* (forward underarm throw), *sukui-nage* (beltless arm throw). For my novice eye it'd be easier to reconstitute a purée than tell these apart. Frequently, though, *rikishi* just screw it up and commit *isami-ashi* (accidental step-out). One slight miscalculation, one slip, and say *sayonara* Baby Huey. Simile for life, I guess, and expensive at $100 per ringside seat. A lousy kick in the *isami-ashi*.

I may sound limerick-snide, but, don't get me wrong, there were spectacular incidents. One anyway. Chiyonofuji, the *yokozuna* (all-time champ), weighed in against Wakashimazu, no side order of teriyaki himself. They caught each other, belt and belt, at *dohyu* edge. It was like waiting for a glacier to calve icebergs. Through that half-minute they teetered, immense and weirdly balletic, on one leg apiece. The power and coordination at stake were gasp-pushing. Then both fell simultaneously. Wakashimazu upset Chiyonofuji in a replay. At best sumo can be spendthrift beautiful. At worst it would only interest those who set elevator load limits.

The audience was well pleased. Anything, even a Shih-tzu dog race, could play one weekend in New York. Lots of well-dressed women with pearlescent plum nail polish on, who'd attend the latest PLO terrorist exhibition if it had native song and authentic costume —and they could get to Limelight in time afterward. The Puerto Rican just behind my seat, though, was disappointed. He thought he'd been given tickets to a Menudo concert. "When do the keeds come on?" he kept asking. Me, I prefer a Panasonic VCR any time. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Plausible Prejudices: Essays on American Writing, by Joseph Epstein (Norton, 411 pp., $17.95)

THE TRADITION of critical letters as practiced in the United States, especially since the time of the late and frequently benighted Edmund Wilson, is chiefly carried on today by such humane scholars as Paul Fussell, Kenneth S. Lynn, and Joseph Epstein—and the greatest of these is probably Epstein. He's a marvel, really, although Fussell has the finer sense of history, while Lynn seems just as keen as both of them in other, subtler ways; but no one covers the literary estates more gracefully, or knows the territory more thoroughly, than does the editor of that esteemed quarterly, *The American Scholar*. He is also *Commentary*'s fiction critic, and he must be ranked as one of our best close readers of current fiction (to the extent it is worth reading), just as Helen Vendler is said to be our best close reader of poetry. Epstein's title derives from an apophthegm of a kindred spirit of his, H. L. Mencken: "Criticism is a prejudice made plausible"; and the essays that embody and demonstrate the theme at the same time extend this volume as a legitimate successor to *The Middle of My Tether*, his previous collection of essays, which immediately confirmed Epstein as an observer not to be ignored. "Anything well written is literature," Evelyn Waugh said, and Epstein ranges freely on this sensible dictum. Writing superbly on practically anything at all, one can't be long ignored. Epstein is a literary essayist in the tradition of Hazlitt especially, Charles Lamb (though not so gentle of temperament), and George Orwell (without the ideological hangups). Keep literacy alive and read Epstein for pleasure and edification. THOMAS P. MCDONNELL

Inside the Criminal Mind, by Stanton E. Samenow (Times Books, 285 pp., $15.50)

CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST Stanton E. Samenow is co-author (with the late Samuel Yochelson) of *The Criminal Personality*, a highly controversial three-volume critique of the environmentalist theories of criminal behavior that currently dominate orthodox academic thinking. *Inside the Criminal Mind* is a popular presentation of the same ideas, admirable in its cogent, straightforward approach. According to *Inside the Criminal Mind*, criminal behavior is solely an abuse of free will: "Crime resides within the person and is 'caused' by the way he thinks, not by his environment. Criminals think differently from responsible people. What must change is how the offender views himself and the world. Focusing on forces outside the criminal is futile." (If you think this is obvious, try it out on a professor of abnormal psychology over lunch.) It was extensive clinical experience that led Yochelson and Samenow to reject as causes of criminal behavior such well-worn factors as peer pressure, parental failure, unfavorable social conditions, and even mental disorder. ("From my clinical observations, I have concluded that 'kleptomaniacs' and 'pyromaniacs' are simply people who enjoy stealing or setting fires.") And they developed a rigorous method of "rehabilitation," which, when applied to thirty hard-core criminals involved in a pilot program, resulted in 13 long-term cures: "These men not only were arrest-free, but they reported having very few desires to commit a crime. They were accountable for how they spent their money and time. Not only did they hold jobs, but they had developed stable work patterns and were advancing. Those who had families were described as accommodating and dependable." While *Inside the Criminal Mind* is full of the kind of hard-headed talk conservatives can appreciate, it is not a purposeful political statement; it does, however, provide yet another welcome reminder that the honest, unbiased social scientist whose work is firmly grounded in accurate observation frequently winds up sounding as conservative as George Gilder.

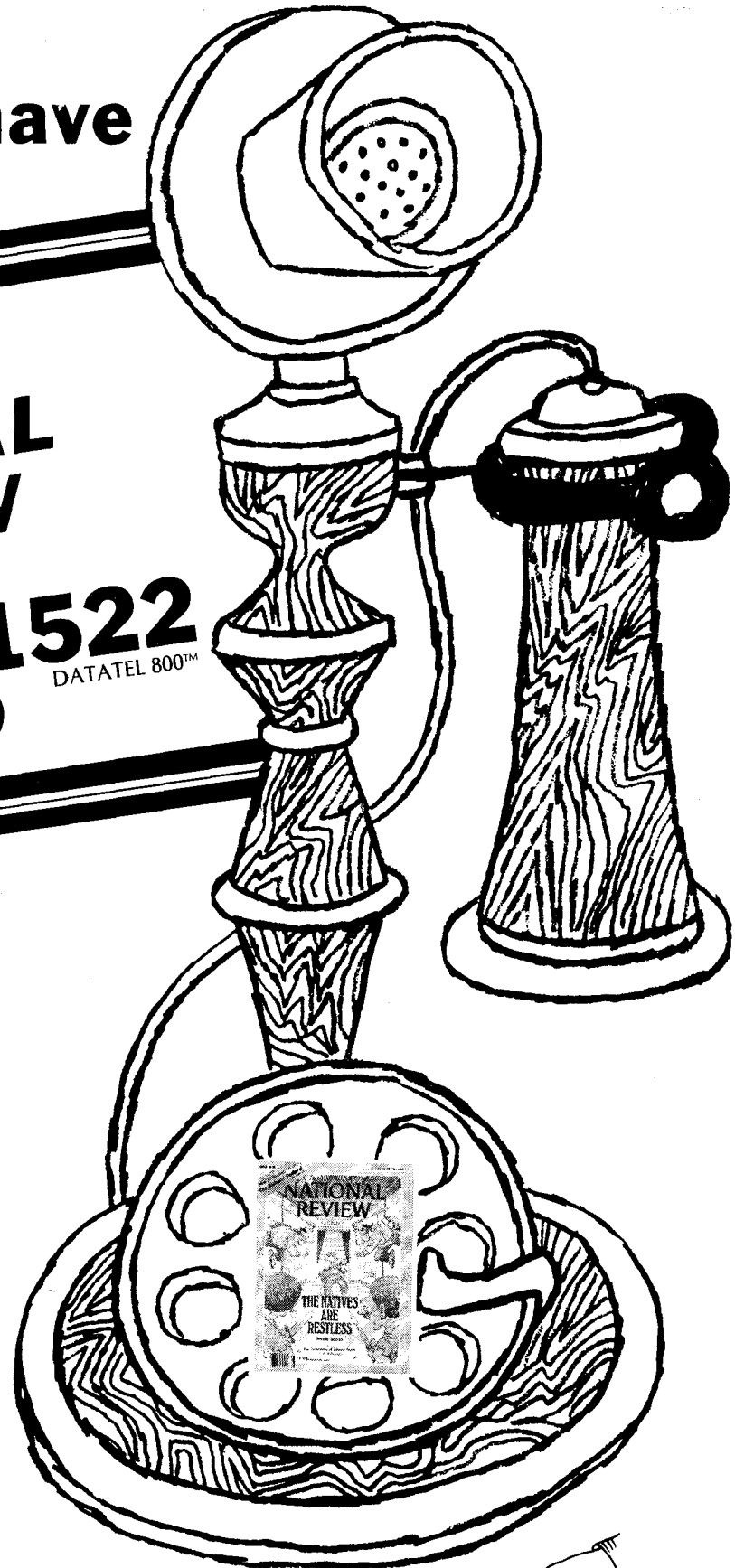
TERRY TEACHOUT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOW all you have to do to

GIVE NATIONAL REVIEW IS DIAL 800-341-1522 (Toll Free)

DATATEL 800™



That's right. To make it easier for you to give full-year gift subscriptions of NR (and who wouldn't appreciate such a flattering gift?) we're providing this new dial-a-gift service at no cost to you—just pick up the phone today and order as many gifts as you want (don't forget the students you care about) at our special gift rate of just $29 each. (We'll pay for the call and all postage and handling, and bill you later—quite a bargain.)

NR makes an ideal gift for hard-to-please people—it's a year-long reminder of your interest (not to mention an indication that you think they are interesting people too). Again, don't forget the young people you care about: conservative ideas are back in style on the campus, so NR should be doubly welcome now.

So pick up the phone and dial that toll-free number.

You can use it to place your personal order any time from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. (Eastern Daylight Time). All gifts just $29 each, for which we'll bill you later.

N.B.

This special number is for gifts only; our operators cannot handle any other business, queries, etc. If the line is busy, wait a few minutes and call again. We're waiting to hear from you.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOU DON'T KNOW? ASK THE COURTS

NEW YORK, AUG. 9

THE RULING of the Court of Appeals in the case of Georgetown University *v.* The Gays in Washington, D.C., marvelously and scandalously instructs us on how it is that the rules we live by are being made these days—not by legislatures but by the courts. Listen, and shake your head . . .

Last year, Mayor Koch of New York told Cardinal O'Connor that the Catholic enterprises over which he presides must formally affirm the rights of homosexuals. The cardinal replied most politely that in fact he did not knowingly discriminate against homosexuals, but that he would make no such affirmation because if one is a priest, one's attitude toward homosexuality is guided by religious precepts, and the First Amendment to the Constitution, dear Edward, forbids any legislature from interfering with the practice of religion. Mayor Koch said he would need to refer the matter to the courts, the two gentlemen smiled at each other, and they waited for the courts to act. This June, New York's highest court sided with the cardinal: Mayor Koch did not have the power to set hiring standards for Cardinal O'Connor.

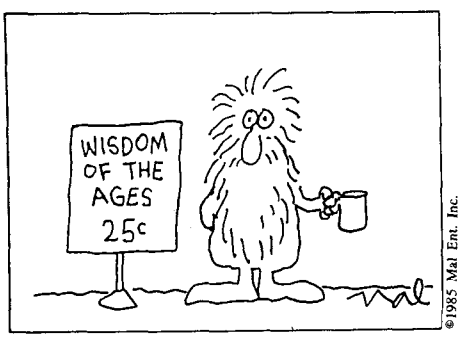
At about the same time, a group of gay activists in Georgetown asked for university recognition. Georgetown, which is a Catholic university, said, No, sorry, but the Catholic Church formally disapproves of homosexuality and it would not therefore be plausible to extend the university's hospitality to a homosexual organization. So off we go, once again, to the courts. The trial judge ruled with Georgetown, and the gays appealed.

On Tuesday, a three-judge panel of the Court of Appeals ruled 2 to 1 against Georgetown, in favor of the gays. But—wait: The entire nine-man court advised the parties that it would consider the question *en banc*, i.e., the whole of the court assembled, so that until that happens, the ruling of the initial trial judge stands, and Georgetown can continue to make its own rules concerning what groups to recognize.

So that we have here a court in New York ruling one way, a court in Washington ruling the same way, a higher court in Washington divided on the question, and the whole court announcing that it would address the question in full session. So that what Georgetown can do, and by extension what Cardinal O'Connor can do, is being decided by men appointed not to make laws, but to interpret laws. No federal laws have ever been passed respecting homosexual rights. Reacting to the favorable decision of the D.C. panel, the lawyer for the gays said jubilantly, "This is the first decision anywhere that says that the elimination of discrimination against homosexuals is to be accorded the same status as elimination of racial and sexual discrimination." Right. And that of course is the point: A court is undertaking to pass what is in effect legislation. If courts had the power to rule against racial and sexual discrimination, why did we bother during the Sixties to pass the Civil Rights Act? The court in Washington is in effect saying, Never mind what Congress says on the subject, just ask us whether Georgetown has to recognize a gay-rights lobby among its students.

To be sure, Georgetown has an important reserve argument. It is the same First Amendment adduced by Cardinal O'Connor. It will not necessarily work: Bob Jones University reads the Bible as proscribing miscegenation, which may be a screwy way to read the Bible, but it was presumably a part of the First Amendment to permit people to read the Bible according to their own lights. Perhaps one day soon the Supreme Court will rule that those who read the Bible as proscribing onanism simply got it wrong somehow, so that the Court will relieve the Vatican of responsibility for refining Catholic doctrine. I have not researched the question (it only just now occurs to me) whether the Eighteenth Amendment barring the sale of alcoholic beverages denied to priests the wine prescribed for the sacrament of the Eucharist. An interesting question. Especially so inasmuch as the Supreme Court is given to making decisions that have the force of constitutional amendments, which amendments are regularly applauded by the same folk who tear out their hair at the prospect of 34 states petitioning for a constitutional convention to amend the Constitution in ways specified as acceptable by the Constitution itself.

If the above is confusing, congratulate yourself. It should be confusing that we have arrived at a point where judges tell priests who run a university what practices students in that university can be permitted to proselytize. □



THE AMERICAN WAY?

NEW YORK, AUG. 12

YOU WILL perhaps remember that Mr. Norman Lear, the fabulously successful television producer who gave us Archie Bunker, discovered a few years ago in Moral Majority and other such organizations the killer bees of American constitutional democracy. He managed to frighten a lot of people who in other confrontations with the vicissitudes of nature and history had shown fortitude and hope. The president of Yale actually warned 18-year-old freshmen of the hazards of Moral Majority, causing them to smile condescendingly as they would have if they had been addressed by an agent of the WCTU.

The tack now being taken—in huge two-page advertisements by Mr. Lear's organization—has to do with the process by which judges are selected in the Reagan Administration. People for the American Way (the organ of Mr. Lear and his brothers-in-fright) is so mixed up on the whole matter of judicial selection that its message is a hodgepodge of contradictions. The boldest headline in the ad reads: "Imagine if the Far Right had veto power over our judges. They do."

Question: Who is designated by the Constitution to nominate federal judges?

Answer: The President. With the advice and consent of the Senate.

Question: What does it take to qualify as Far Right?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Answer: To share the views of Ronald Reagan.

Question: Who shares the views of Ronald Reagan?

Answer: The majority of the American people.

Question: Does that make the majority of the American people members of the Far Right?

Answer: Res ipsa loquitur.

The American Way defines as good patriotic Americans those who agree with the decisions of the Supreme Court on any issue relating to civil rights, the separation of church and state, abortion, and one man, one vote. The committee's statement reads, "Our Founding Fathers sought in the language of Thomas Jefferson to 'bind men with chains of law' and set up checks and balances intended to promote the powers and prerogatives of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government."

That happens to be the view identified with American conservatives, read the Far Right. To entertain the notion that Thomas Jefferson would have permitted the Supreme Court to wake up one day and pronounce unconstitutional a display of the Ten Commandments on school property, unconstitutional the authority of states to regulate abortion, and unconstitutional electoral districts defined by other criteria than population, requires years of hard study and ignorance of the life, thought, and writings of Thomas Jefferson.

But concretely what are we talking about? Whether Mr. Reagan and his agents are up to unconstitutional or untraditional mischief in asking about the views of prospective judges? Such an observation might have been defensible before the Supreme Court became the principal policymaker, a running exegete of constitutional meaning, a standing constitutional convention. But given that the Supreme Court has become a legislative tribunal, then it is precisely an attempt to restore the balance of power that the Reagan Administration is engaged in—by looking for judges who respect the constitutional boundaries of power as specified in a Constitution that assigns to legislatures, not to the Supreme Court, the responsibility to legislate.

The apocalyptic message of Norman Lear closes with the sentence, "The fate of our third branch of government is hanging in the balance." Here he is absolutely correct. He might have gone further and said, "The fate of constitutional government is hanging in the balance." Because either Congress and the states are going to recapture the right to govern, or else the Supreme Court will continue to act as the surrogate for America's conscience. The President of the United States is asked to swear to defend the Constitution. The Constitution is most actively challenged, and has been for over thirty years, by a Court engaged in making policy. When the Court authorizes a quota system, it is making policy by depriving people of equal rights. When the Court rules that common prayer in public schools is a violation of the First Amendment, notwithstanding that the people who wrote the First Amendment also wrote policy calling for prayer in public schools, then it is the Court that is properly challenged for amending the Constitution, not those who protest the Court's extravagances (among them, members of the Supreme Court). People for the American way are best off urging the Senate to back such judicial reforms as Mr. Reagan envisions, by sending to the Court men of integrity and scholarship who think themselves servants of the Constitution rather than improvisers on it. □

I CONFESS

NEW YORK, JULY 29

TWO NIGHTS before the affair, I had not known it would take place. The woman on my right at dinner, whose husband is professionally engaged in the production of rock music, told me she had not been disposed to go to Philadelphia for "the concert," but now she thought that if she did not go, she might in fact be passing by a historic event. With that prompting, before going out for dinner on Saturday, I hooked up my VCR to catch the three-hour abbreviation of the 16-hour marathon and, when I got back, sat down with my wife and watched the last twenty minutes, which began with Jack Nicholson introducing Bob Dylan and his two accompanists. Jack Nicholson said that, for the finale, they had saved someone who "transcended history," no less.

Here was an event, philanthropic in design (all proceeds would go to Africans being systematically starved by the implementation of Marxist doctrine in Ethiopia) and impulse. The show-biz aspect of the great Live Aid spectacular was not what engages the attention. It is, rather, a plight one needs to explore. Not a purely private problem. I would not write a column to explore the difficulties I experienced in virtue, say, of having a sixth toe. I have become a truth-seeker in the matter of the rock culture, and my problems aren't, I think, unique.

1. More people tuned in to Live Aid, we are told, than tuned in to the Summer Olympics. This datum is absolutely extraordinary, given that sports have been the lingua franca of internationalism through much of recorded history, and that there is an instantly communicable excitement to a sports event (who's going to win?) that does not attach to a musical event, the excitement of which comes in through a different sensory apparatus. What is being said for rock music, in effect, is that the entire world is at its feet. That the undisputed international celebrities of the world are the rock stars.

2. If this is so, then why is it that they do not appeal—well, to me? My other appetites are normal. Could it be that there is a dirty little secret no one is prepared publicly to discuss, namely that that kind of thing does not appeal to a whole lot of people, who nevertheless are not willing to confess their alienation from the overwhelming majority of the young?

3. " 'That kind of thing,' come on now, Buckley, what exactly do you mean?"

Fair enough. Bob Dylan comes on stage, and on either side of him are two famous guitarists from the Rolling Stones. Dylan last shaved, oh, three days before. (Why?) He is wearing blue jeans and a scruffy T-shirt arrangement of sorts. (Why? Trademark? Change trademarks?) The two guitarists arrive smoking cigarettes, which dangle from their lips for the first minute or so of the first song. (Why?) Their arms are entirely bare, and they otherwise wear what looks like a stripped-down dark-colored T-shirt. (Why? Heat?) Then intense concentration on Dylan, and neither I nor spouse can pick up a single word he sings, and we frankly doubt that anyone else could. (Why?) The songs were without discernible melody, the voice was whiny, with enough gravel in it to stop Jean-Claude Killy in mid-slope, the guitarists were hard to listen to (why? why? why?). But we were engaged in transcending history.

Of one thing I am absolutely convinced, and that is that there is no doubting the sincerity of the rock-worshippers. I know one or two who are without affectation, and they will, in stretches of solitude, clap on their Walkmen and listen to Bob Dylan before they will listen to Vivaldi, or Verdi, or Strauss, or Cole Porter. Obviously there is a generational imbalance, and that should not surprise, whether one asks about relative young-old enthusiasm for the Rolling Stones, or relative young-old enthusiasm for *Raiders of the Lost Ark*.

But the totality of the mobilization of the young appears to have swept with it the not-young, and one wonders whether the capitulation of the middle-aged suggests a cultural insecurity? If all the world thinks Picasso's double-jawed, cockeyed dames are masterpieces, ought one to defer to universal sentiment? If one does not master rock 'n' roll, is one closing the door on a transformative experience? Is it the equivalent of inviting color-blindness? Deafness? Impotence?

Well, I have said it, and in payment for exercising the privilege of skipping the first two and a half hours of tape, I'll make a contribution to Live Aid, reviving the movement of sticking a dime in the nickelodeon to buy five minutes of silence. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Employment Opportunities

CHRISTIAN NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION seeks fundraiser. Generous commission. Experience preferred, but not necessary. Write Charles Grande, *P.O. Box 159, Glen Ellen, Calif. 95442.*

WASHINGTON INTERNSHIP. Help run anti-Soviet disinvestment campaigns with Young Conservative Foundation. Room and board provided for those who qualify. 1-800-424-9700.

SHORT-STORY WRITERS: $300 will be paid for short stories accepted for publication in weekly newspaper. For more information, send S.A.S.E. to D/FW Press Service, 808 Savannah, Bedford, Tex. 76022.

ATTORNEY IN SARASOTA, FLORIDA, seeks associate for active general practice with civil/commercial litigation emphasis. Practice involves difficult cases, hard work, and long hours. Send resume with description of interests plus salary requirements. *Write NR Box 4142.*

Situations Wanted

CHRISTIAN CONSERVATIVE GENTLEMAN, 35, M.A. + 36 + certification, seeks position teaching history/social studies at private or religious secondary school. Write NR Box 4068.

B.A. HISTORY/political science. Excellent writing skills. Interested in politics and culture. Looking for permanent position on magazine, newspaper, conservative think-tank, or the Hill. Have excellent references and will send resume to serious offers. Write NR Box 4143.

FORMER FOREIGN-SERVICE OFFICER with liberal-arts M.A. and conversational French seeks position dealing with international matters. Overseas experience includes two years in sub-Saharan Africa. Resume and references available on request. Robin C. Carter, Route 2, Potter Hill Road, Cattaraugus, N.Y. 14719. Telephone: 716-257-3482.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. Invitations to personal relationships must specify at least 3 interests. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: $1.00 per word, minimum 10 words, plus $2.25 for box number. Frequency discounts: 4 times, 90¢ per word; 6 times, 85¢ per word; 8 times or more, 80¢ per word. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 35 days before cover date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address Classified Director, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

TOP SALESMAN desires commission gift line for Southeast. Call 305-322-0865.

SUCCESSFUL BUSINESSMAN desires opportunity to sell without duties of corporation. Commission basis. Call 305-322-0865 or write P.O. Box 803, Deltona, Fla. 32728-0803.

CONSERVATIVE CATHOLIC PROFESSOR, Ph.D. English, M.A. philosophy, seeks traditional Christian/intellectual climate at religious or private institution. Write NR Box 4119.

Services

ENTREPRENEURS and established firms wishing to expand to Canada can obtain expert advice from experienced government-relations consultant. William Kennaley, M.B.A., 47 King Street West, Suite 606, Kitchener, Ontario N2G 1A2. 519-743-3463.

Business Opportunities

ENTREPRENEUR'S START-UP KIT. The hardest thing about turning your ideas into a profitable full- or part-time business is believing you can do it. Next hardest thing is getting started. This kit will help you do both. Only $9.95. Write Enterprise Press-N, 1731 North Edgewood, Flagstaff, Ariz. 86001. (Add $1.50 for postage, handling, tax.) Guaranteed.

Real Estate

NORTHWESTERN MISSOURI—Owner must sell home in lovely small community. $12,000. 303-726-5694 evenings.

CAPTURE A BIT OF HISTORY. Buy a plantation with an antebellum house. Brochure on request. Bob Haltom & Co., Realtors and Historical Consultants, 113 Jeff Davis Boulevard, Natchez, Miss. 39120. 601-422-3718, C.S.T.

Literary

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P.O. Box 1324NR, Culpeper, Va. 22701-6324.

MYSTERY-DETECTIVE BOOKSEARCH, Box 15460, Orlando, Fla. 32858-5460. Locate any book. Send $4 for catalogues.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS located. No obligation. Book Trader, Box 603-R, Fairmont, N.C. 28340. Phone 919-628-0945.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS: Buckley, Kirk, Solzhenitsyn, Evans, Muggeridge, etc. Send addressed, stamped envelope for list. Partisan Books, Box 549, Iowa City, Iowa 52244.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. All subjects invited. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. NRT, 11 West 32nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.

SOVIET DISSIDENTS speak in the *Samizdat Bulletin*. Every month the *Samizdat Bulletin* publishes translations of items currently appearing in the Soviet underground press. $30 per year; payment must accompany order. Mention this ad and receive two free issues. *Samizdat Bulletin*, P.O. Box 6359, San Jose, Calif. 95150.

INDEX TO CHESTERTON, by Joseph W. Sprug. For information write Chesterton Fund, Box 353, Carpentersville, Ill. 60110.

THE RED LINE—Analysis of the latest Communist propaganda, strategy, and tactics, straight from the comrades' press. $8 per year (ten issues); $14 for two years. Enclose check to Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, Dept. RL, P.O. Box 11321, St. Louis, Mo. 63105.

Educational Opportunities

YOUR TICKET TO a career in Republican politics awaits you at the Republican Congressional Campaign Academy. We're looking for people who want more than a challenge. Men and women who thirst for the cutting edge between winning and losing. Professionals who want to make politics their business, not their hobby. If you've ever wanted to be a campaign manager or a specialist in campaign finance or communications, call the Academy now at 202-479-7037. Or write the Republican Congressional Campaign Academy, 320 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

LEARN ALGEBRA with *Not Just Another Algebra Book*, $14.95; cassette, $10.95. David Williams, 505 Hollywood Drive, Knoxville, Tenn. 37919.

BACHELOR'S, MASTER'S, DOCTORATE. Guide to colleges offering non-residential degree programs through independent home study. Accredited, economical, accelerated programs. Credit given for prior accomplishments and work experience. Free detailed brochure. Write: Dr. John Bear, P.O. Box 11447-NR9, Marina del Rey, Calif. 90295.

UNIVERSITY DEGREES—A world of accredited non-residential options from Degree Consulting Services, P.O. Box 3533N, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95402. 707-539-6466.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

Wesley Pruden on a Vacuous Democrat

Gary Hart went to Boston the other day to try out a new idea—something he calls "the new patriotism." The idea sank without making so much as a bubble in Boston Harbor—where the "old" patriotism seems to be thriving again—or a squeak anywhere else. Nobody has heard of Mr. Hartpence since.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CATHOLIC LIBERAL EDUCATION. Thomas Aquinas College offers serious intellectual discipline and a close-knit community of students and teachers. Classics from Aristotle to Einstein replace textbooks; classroom discussions replace lectures; elective system replaced by an integrated, comprehensive study of mathematics, experimental science, language, music, history, literature, philosophy, and theology. Classes do not exceed 20 students. Financial-aid program. Applications from students with previous college studies encouraged. Endorsed by M. Stanton Evans, Russell Kirk, Malcolm Muggeridge. Accredited by Western Association of Schools and Colleges. For information write to: Director of Admissions-NR, Thomas Aquinas College, 10000 North Ojai Road, Santa Paula, Calif. 93060; or call 805-525-4417.

BECOME AN AUCTIONEER at American Auction College. Endorsed by Colonel Joe Reisch. Free catalogue. Box 1069, Dept. E-1, Mason City, Iowa 50401. 515-424-1148.

Vacation

BOSTON & CAPE COD—Bed and breakfast reservation services. Select from 100 charming host homes in choice locations. Free directories. Personalized service. Cape Cod: call Mary Chapman, 617-255-3824, Orleans B&B Associates, Box 1312NR, Orleans, Mass. 02653. Boston/Marblehead: call Marcia Whittington, 617-244-1308, Host Homes of Boston, Box 117NR, Newton, Mass. 02168.

YOUR OWN PRIVATE SAILING yacht with crew. New York metro area. The elegant 41′ ketch *Passages* for pleasure or business. Capt. H. Erickson, 516-766-7447.

Gourmet

MINNESOTA WILD RICE still available. 1 lb., $8.50; 2 lbs., $14.95; 5 lbs., $35.95; 10 lbs., $69; recipes, $2; postpaid. Minnesota Wild Rice Co., Route 2, Box 358A, Aitkin, Minn. 56431.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

NYC ATTORNEY, 35, Catholic, 6′4″, never married, handsome; enjoys travel, politics, swimming, conversation, adventure. Seeks attractive female, 22–32, with traditional values. Photo. Write NR Box 4125.

BOSTON WOMAN, 30, attractive, with traditional values. Enjoys the outdoors, skiing, and cultural interests. Seeks an adventurous, family-minded professional man who has not been divorced. Write NR Box 4138.

SINGLE NYC MAN, 38, loyal, idealistic, hard-working (M.D.), yet playful and nice-looking, with strong interest in literature and movies, seeks woman counterpart for best friendship, then marriage. Write NR Box 4087.

PENPALS WORLDWIDE. Friendly correspondence. Box 126, Station A, Scarborough, Ontario, Canada M1K 2W6.

WORKING WIDOW in Tampa area wishes to meet Christian professional man, 55–65. Interests include politics, classical music, genealogy, theater. Write NR Box 4140.

WOMAN, 49, Catholic convert. Contemplative. Enjoy: reading, conversation, dining, walking, wit, Vivaldi, Jung. Would like to meet not totally dissimilar man in Philadelphia area. Write NR Box 4141.

SINCERE WHITE CHRISTIAN MALE, 42, professional, desires to meet Christian woman with humor who is interested in a loving, supportive relationship. NYC area. Send photo; photo assures response. Write NR Box 4108.

SUCCESSFUL WOMAN EXECUTIVE, 42, well-educated, widely traveled, cultural enthusiast, slender, classic features, wishes to meet Christian businessman of attainment, 40+. Write NR Box 4133.

TALL SOUTHERN PROFESSOR, 45, gentle, nonsmoking, considered handsome, divorced father, appreciates Rachmaninoff, Will, athletics, wishes to meet very tall, very lovely, secure, relocatable lady, 30–45, without young children, for possible life together. Recent photo. Write NR Box 4135.

ST. LOUIS MAN, 26, attractive conservative college grad, would-be politician, seeks young lady of similar background and interests. Write NR Box 4123.

LESS-THAN-PERFECT Midwest gentleman interested in communicating with less-than-perfect females. Interests varied: politics, writing, travel. Write NR Box 4105.

ATTRACTIVE PROFESSIONAL WOMAN, 30, living in Boston area, interested in sports, dancing, and travel. Would like to meet professional, non-divorced, fun-loving man with traditional values. Write NR Box 4139.

OHIO MAN, 36, strongly right-to-life, loves languages, games, hiking, volunteerism; non-churchgoer. Dislikes TV, music, cosmetics. Seeks nonsmoking, non-drinking woman; race, religion, age unimportant. Give your views on abortion. Write NR Box 4129.

UNMARRIED-CATHOLICS CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. Nationwide, unlimited choice, huge membership. NYC get-togethers. Newsletter. Sparks Services, Box 872NR, Troy, N.Y. 12181.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets the cultured single, widowed, or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970—3,000 members. Box AE, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081. 215-566-2132.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. Write CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

AN INTELLIGENT WAY to meet others. For hobbies, sports, correspondence, friendship, vacations, use our Exchange to contact others nearby or worldwide. Electronic Exchange, P.O. Box 68-N1, Manhattan Beach, Calif. 90266.

SUPER ACHIEVERS CLUB—M.D.s, J.D.s, Ph.D.s, business execs, talented artists, M.A.s, etc. Call your match. 212-267-5785.

For Sale

THE AWARD-WINNING Adam Smith necktie—gold on navy blue or gold on burgundy. $20, postage paid. VISA and MasterCard. The Decatur Shop, One Decatur Place, North Adams, Mich. 49262.

ANCIENT CELTIC MONASTERIES. Prints from pen-and-ink drawings. Linen-finish notecards (4½″ × 6″), suitable for framing. Historical text. Set of 6, $7.50. Sundar Designs, 1222 East Main Street, Silverton, Ore. 97381.

"AFTER ALL IS SAID and done, a hell of a lot more is said than done." This and 49 additional Murphy's Laws on 24″ × 30″ poster. All witty and wise. Refund if you are not at least beguiled. Send $7.50 to The Lakeland Works, P.O. Box 230, Pompton Lakes, N.J. 07442.

ADVERTISING SPECIALTY ITEMS and premium gifts. Colino knows that the best gifts: 1) get your message across, 2) look expensive, 3) are *not* expensive. Colino Products, Inc. 516-488-1334.

MINIATURE 2″ straw flower and statice nosegays for Christmas ornaments, favors. $4 each, postpaid. Check or money order payable to R. P. Schearer Nursery, 4335 Wilson-Burt Road, Wilson, N.Y. 14172. NYS residents add 7% sales tax.

Miscellaneous

FREE BROWN SCAPULAR and explanation of its benefits to those who wear it, as told by the Mother of God. Send S.A.S.E. to Box 3057, Casper, Wyo. 82602.

WANTED: YOUR IDEAS. We are an international association of professional and amateur scholars who study current affairs (politics, democracy, capitalism, conservatism, economics, international security, law, social policy, etc.). The Correspondence Club is an open and informal forum where we exchange information and ideas about current issues. The Research Program provides free and economical research services to members (consulting, networking, translating, etc.). Think Tank, Box 1584, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3C 2Z6, Canada.

INVENTIONS, IDEAS, new products wanted for presentation to industry and exhibition at national innovation exposition. Call 800-528-6050. Canada: 800-528-6060, ext. 831.

SELF-HYPNOSIS—Over 40 professional cassette programs entitled "Stop Smoking," "Lose Weight," "Solve Problems," "Increase Confidence," "Achieve Goals," plus our unique "Renaissance Success" series. Information: $2, refundable. Carella Clinic, 180 Northeast 72nd Street, Gladstone, Mo. 64118.

GET CONTROL OF YOURSELF! Lose weight with new natural products that won't cost you a fortune. Write immediately! Baldwin, Box 12, Delta, Pa. 17314.

WHO DO YOU THINK you are? In-depth analysis $25. Beverly Hills Handwriting Assoc., 9427 Charleville Blvd., Beverly Hills, Calif. 90212.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Pyromaniac at work — 133 55 154 70 107 37 173 15

B. Outer boundary — 184 79 26 132 171 54 121 5 100

C. More like Uriah Heep — 138 43 66 148 13 99 31

D. This foot is well known to bards — 153 17 167 46 109 87

E. Scott's Scottish hero — 129 12 105 188 27 116 169 60 88

F. Defensive justification — 150 33 156 125 97 18 62 177

G. Moot — 86 4 157 117 41 76 53 149 104

H. Forcefully expressed — 135 80 6 180 126 58 111 35

I. Paper money (slang) — 98 170 182 155 77 20 119

J. "I babble on the _____" —Tennyson — 122 89 69 139 103 39 161

K. City in North Carolina (2 words) — 142 94 137 8 130 168 191 28 61

L. Corinth and Panama each have one — 40 164 91 59 151 172 120

M. One always present at Greek battles — 21 141 67 160

N. Unfathomable to the masses — 181 32 106 45 56 16 146 75

O. Deprived of one's rights — 108 136 38 14 78 174 162 57

P. Hawkeyes' alma mater (2 words) — 25 140 118 90 44 7 68 110 158

Q. City in New Jersey — 179 51 24 113 165 64 3

R. Von Bismarck — 185 36 72 144

S. Based — 48 143 2 193 83 127

T. Tasted the grape — 115 50 175 19 73 152 93

U. WOE AS ME (anagram) — 85 10 176 192 112 42 128

V. River of forgetfulness — 190 92 63 123 30

W. On vacation — 81 22 186

X. Coal distillate — 134 101 29 131 178 84 65

Y. Displeased — 52 124 23 147 9 166

Z. Dull in perception — 183 102 1 71 163 34

a. Kind of interests held by three-piece suits? — 82 47 114 96 189 145

b. Gaseous hydrocarbon — 74 187 11 159 95 49

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 64 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

1 Z	2 S	■	3 Q	4 G	5 B	6 H	■	7 P	8 K	9 Y	■	10 U	11 b	12 E	13 C	14 O	■	
15 A	16 N	17 D	18 F	19 T	20 I	■	21 M	22 W	23 Y	24 Q	25 P	26 B	■	27 E	28 K	■	29 X	
30 V	31 C	32 N	33 F	34 Z	35 H	36 R	37 A	38 O	39 J	■	40 L	41 G	■	42 U	43 C	44 P	45 N	
■	46 D	47 a	■	48 S	49 b	50 T	51 Q	52 Y	53 G	54 D	55 A	56 N	57 O	■	58 H	59 L	60 E	
61 K	■	62 F	63 V	■	64 Q	65 X	66 C	67 M	■	68 P	69 J	70 A	71 Z	72 R	■	73 T	74 b	
75 N	76 G	77 I	78 O	79 B	■	80 H	81 W	82 a	83 S	■	84 X	85 U	86 G	■	87 D	88 E	89 J	
90 P	91 L	92 V	93 T	■	94 K	95 b	96 a	97 F	98 I	99 C	100B	101X	102Z	103J	104G	■	105E	
106N	107A	108O	109D	110P	111H	112U	113Q	114a	■	115T	116E	■	117G	■	118P	119I	120L	
121B	■	122J	123V	124Y	125F	126H	127S	128U	129E	130K	131X	132B	133A	■	134X	135H	136O	
137K	138C	139J	140P	141M	142K	143S	144R	145a	■	146N	147Y	■	148C	149G	150F	151L	152T	
■	153D	154A	■	155I	156F	■	157G	158P	■	159b	160M	161J	162O	163Z	164L	165Q	166Y	
■	167D	168K	169E	170I	■	171B	172L	173A	174O	■	175T	176U	■	177F	178X	■	179Q	
180H	181N	■	182I	183Z	184B	■	185R	186W	■	187b	188E	189a	■	190V	191K	192U	193S	

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ART OF EASY CARE PERFORMANCE

"Dogwood and Peony" from Linens by Vera

VISA® DAMASK

Visa fabrics by Milliken.
The superior name in
high performance easy care.
For freedom from staining, from fading.
Little or no ironing.
For brighter brights, whiter whites.
For the best of everything
in quality, support, service.
*Visa of Dacron.**
America's Freedom Fabric.

America's Freedom Fabric
VISA BY MILLIKEN
Fabric that cares for itself. And you.

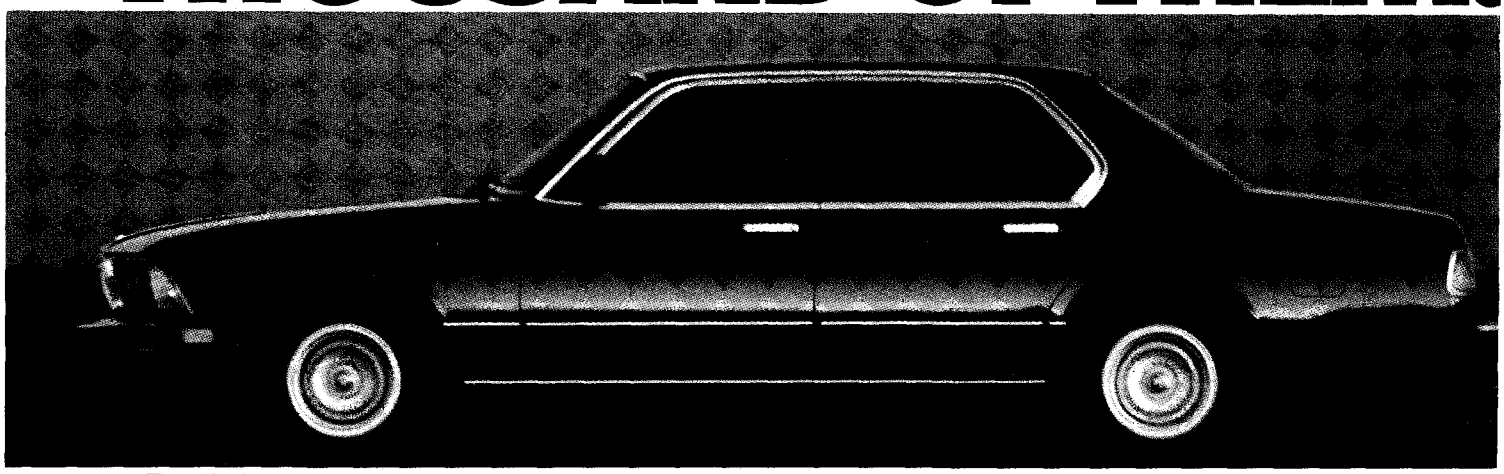
DACRON® DU PONT POLYESTER

®Visa is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics.
*Dacron is a Du Pont registered trademark.

CRAFTED WITH PRIDE IN U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THOSE WHO KNOW THE VALUE OF A DOLLAR, A CAR THAT JUSTIFIES SPENDING FORTY THOUSAND OF THEM.



The old adage, "If you have to ask what it costs, you can't afford it," seems to be rapidly slipping out of date.

And with it, a certain breed of luxury car whose lavish prices have always gone unquestioned.

Today's enlightened car buyer not only is asking "How much?" but "Why so much?" A state of affairs that has left many car makers groping for answers. And placed a record number of prudent buyers behind the wheel of a BMW 735i.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A CLASSIC CAR AND A DATED CAR.

Peer beneath the glimmering hood ornaments and multilayered enamel of certain age-old status symbols and you'll unveil a car that is just that: age-old.

Examine the inner workings of a BMW 735i and you'll find quite the reverse.

Its new 3.5-liter engine is the successor to a power plant that Road & Track hailed as "the most refined in-line six in the world."

Working in tandem with that engine is the third generation of an electronic fuel management system that, in its original state, was already among the world's most advanced. So advanced, it was used to govern the BMW engine that powered a Formula One champion race car.

The result? A veritable paradox—a six-cylinder automobile that is not only fuel-efficient* but also out-accelerates many eight-cylinder cars in its class.

A CAR THAT DOES NOT ACCEPT THE INEVITABLE.

BMW engineers are passionate believers in the theory that, in driving, "forewarned is forearmed."

They've given the new 735i an electronic Service Interval Indicator that signals you the moment service is recommended.

With an onboard computer that informs you of everything from range on remaining fuel to the potential of road icing.

With an ABS braking system that helps provide you with infinitely more control over your fate during stopping. A system that helps prevent the wheels from locking (a prime cause of skidding) and enables steering even in panic stops. A system whose concept has been applied not just on roadways but on runways where, day-in and day-out, it brings the most sophisticated passenger jet aircraft to a controlled, secure halt.

Does the BMW 735i possess the luxuries befitting a car in its price range? Indeed. It's just that the 735i's luxuries are not there in lieu of necessities.

You will find everything that one in good taste, could require. Eight-way power seats of hand-stitched leather, walnut paneling, a cockpit-like dash that sweeps out to meet you, a telescopically-adjustable steering column, electrically-controlled right-and-left mirrors.

The 735i is, in the end, a car that single-handedly justifies having expensive taste in cars.

An automobile that doesn't require rationalizations for its $40,000 purchase price** because it comes fully equipped with a long list of superbly engineered reasons.

A list that your BMW dealer will be pleased to continue at your earliest convenience.

THE ULTIMATE DRIVING MACHINE.

*EPA-estimated 15 mpg, 20 highway. Fuel efficiency figures are for comparison only. Your actual mileage may vary, depending on speed, weather and trip length. Actual highway mileage will most likely be lower. **Manufacturer's suggested retail price: $36,880. Actual price depends on dealer. Price excludes state and local taxes, dealer prep and handling charges. ©1985 BMW of North America, Inc. The BMW trademark and logo are registered.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED